Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/ontario-history_1960_52

ONTARIO HISTORY

PAPERS & RECORDS

VOLUME LII

1960

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AUGUSTANA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

VOL. LII September No. 3.

Page

The Trials of John Montgomery
By E. A. Lacey 141

John Strachan and Early Upper Canada, 1799-1814
By Miss Alison Smith 159

Report of the Museums Section for 1959-1960
By Miss Kaye McFarland 173

Sir John Johnson's Rent Roll of the Kingsborough Patent
By Duncan Fraser 176

The Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society 190

On the Importance of Publicizing Ontario's History
By William H. Cranston 201

Constitution of the Ontario Historical Society 209

News Notes 158, 175, 208

VOL. LII December No. 4.

The Lumber Community of Upper Canada, 1815-1867
By Michael S. Cross 213

The History and Development of Early Forms of Building Construction in Ontario
By John I. Rempel 235

Schemes for the Transplanting of Refugee American Negroes from Upper Canada in the 1840's
By John K. A. Farrell 245

The Steamship *Traveller* and the Rebellion of 1837
With an Introduction by George W. Spragge 251

The Museums Section Financial Statement 257

Book Notes, Summer and Autumn, 1960 258

News Notes 233, 249, 250, 264, 265

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOL. LII March No. 1.

Page

The British Base at Carleton Island
By Major C. C. J. Bond 1

The Regiment de Watteville: Its Settlement and Service in Upper Canada
By John D. P. Martin 17

The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada and its
Still-Born Child—The "Upper Canada Preserved" Medal
By Hamilton Craig 31

New Pages of Prehistory, 1959
Edited by J. Norman Emerson 53

News and Reports 16, 30, 76

VOL. LII June No. 2.

A Pioneer Abolitionist in Upper Canada
By Fred Landon 77

King Township, York County, 1800-1867: A Historical Sketch
By Mary E. Garbutt 84

The Artist Turns Farmer: Chapters from the Autobiography of Daniel Fowler
Introduction by Thomas R. Lee 98

Trafalgar Township in 1817
Edited by Hazel C. Matthews 111

Book Notes, Winter and Spring, 1959-1960 117

Notice of Amendments to the Constitution of the
Ontario Historical Society 125

Financial Statement for the Year Ended December 31, 1959 128

The Local Societies Report on their Activities in 1959 131

New Notes 97, 137, 139-40

THE BRITISH BASE AT CARLETON ISLAND

By Major C. C. J. Bond

Ten miles southeast of Kingston lies Carleton Island, for a brief time during the Revolutionary War the site of a busy British military and commercial post and the base of throngs of Indian allies. Captured by Americans in 1812 it became part of the United States when the boundary there was defined in 1817. Today, a few old mansions stand near the ruins of the fort on the island's western promontory, and the twin coves shelter a few big launches; the rest is farm and woodlot. Above the coves, atop the cliff zigzags the defensive ditch, cut in the limestone. Nearby, two derelict stone chimneys poke their heads over the lilac bushes, provoking the curiosity of passersby on the St. Lawrence Seaway. The ditch, the chimneys and some rubble heaps are the sole remaining traces of Fort Haldimand, for a few short years a vitally important British link in the defence of Canada.[1]

On the night of June 26, 1778 H.M. frigate *Montreal* landed in Quebec bearing a new governor and military commander for the loyal Fourteenth Colony. A month later, having barely finished his complicated accounting of the takeover from Sir Guy Carleton, General Haldimand advised the Secretary of State for the Colonies, " . . . I intend taking possession of Cataraqui that, if in Force, we may early next year repossess ourselves of Oswego . . ."[2] His purpose in occupying Oswego was to hold the loyalty of the Five Nations.[3] Traders' goods and supplies for the western posts were shipped by bateau between Montreal and Oswegatchie (present-day Ogdensburg) and from the latter post to Niagara—when military needs permitted—by the King's Vessels. The transfer at Oswegatchie meant tortuous and risky sailing in the river, complicated by current and prevailing westerly winds.[4] Furthermore, the works at Oswegatchie were rotten and badly sited. A new and stronger post at Cataraqui would offer a better location for transshipment as well as a stepping-stone to Oswego.[5]

By July 28 Haldimand had sent a party, comprising three companies of the 47th Regiment under Captain Aubrey, a detachment of Johnson's Corps (King's Royal Regiment of New York), and twenty-eight artificers, upriver from Montreal to build the post. Aubrey's men were to make up the working parties and the garrison, and the Loyalists would cut

---

[1] It is probable that the ditch, a menace to cattle, has been filled with rubble by the farmer who owns the site. When the writer saw the ruins in 1958 there was a bulldozer nearby and the farmer had announced his intention of filling in the ditch.

[2] Q 15, 174 (All documents quoted are in The Public Archives of Canada).

[3] *Ibid.*, 281; Q 16-2, 112. The Oneidas and some of the Tuscaroras had defected to the Americans. The Confederacy, however, still called itself the Six Nations.

[4] Amherst's vessels had sailed from Oswego downriver to attack Fort Lévis in 1760.

[5] B 154, 29. Haldimand knew the region. In 1760 he had commanded the van of Amherst's force. He appears to have spent a night on Carleton Island at the site of the fort that later bore his name. (W.O. 34, Vol. 9, 165).

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 1.

timber and work with the Indians. There were also a few women, wives of soldiers.[6] In charge of construction were Lieutenant William Twiss, Corps of Engineers,[7] to plan the works, and Lieutenant John Schank, Royal Navy, to advise on naval matters and build gunboats.[8]

Twiss, who with some artificers had preceded the force, wrote Haldimand from Oswegatchie that he would go to Cataraqui by the south channel past Grande Island (the present Wolfe Island), examining the post at Buck Island en route.[9] Twiss had with him a junior Royal Artillery officer named Glenie who had camped on Buck Island with St. Leger's force in 1777.[10]

Schank, who had been in St. Johns giving advice on the wintering of the vessels on Lake Champlain, joined the reconnaissance party at Buck Island. He and Twiss quickly decided that this location was to be preferred over Cataraqui as a site for the post. Cataraqui was commanded by higher ground; good timber was lacking there for the construction of ships and buildings but was plentiful on and about Buck Island; Cataraqui Bay was limited as an anchorage because of its depth and its exposure to certain winds, while Buck Island provided all-round shelter. It was also felt that the marshes about Cataraqui would be unhealthy. The soldiers quickly commenced clearing trees and on August 17 Glenie was sent to Haldimand with a report of the decision, and a plan of the projected fort. Twiss proposed to rename Buck Island "Carleton Island" and to call the post "Fort Haldimand". Haldimand, then in Montreal, quickly approved these actions.[11]

Carleton Island is about two miles long and a mile broad, like a stubby ship, its axis aligned with the river flow, lying between Wolfe Island and the southern mainland. A relatively shallow channel, sedge-fringed in 1778 and about a mile and a quarter wide, flows on its south shore, while on the Wolfe Island side the narrower main channel passes. At the upstream end are limestone cliffs, about thirty-five or forty feet high, nearly perpendicular, and from the centre of the cliff-face a low isthmus extends to a small peninsula. Within the arms of this projection lay the two deep coves that came to be called Schank's Harbour and Government Harbour.[12]

---

[6] Q 15, 261; B 154, 29; B 127, 1.

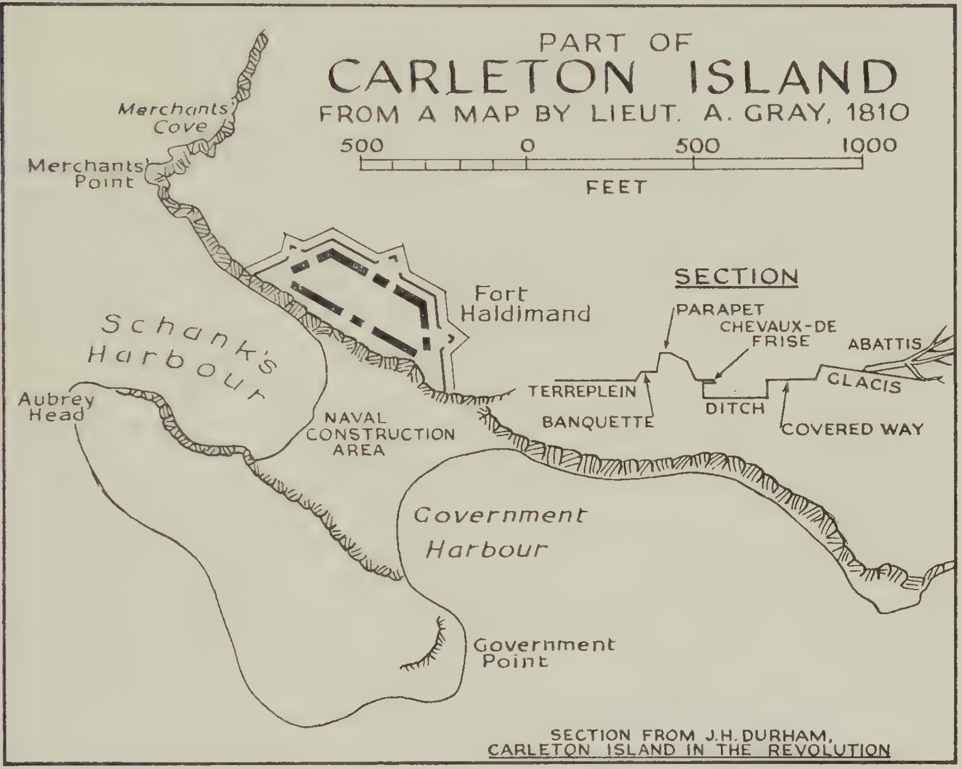
[7] William Twiss, born in 1745, served at Gibraltar and Portsmouth. In 1776 he aided Schank in the construction of Carleton's fleet on Lake Champlain. He was Burgoyne's Chief Engineer, was captured at Saratoga but quickly exchanged. He reached the rank of general in 1825 and died in 1827. (*Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books*, Horatio Rogers ed., Albany 1884, 169).

[8] John Schank, born about 1740, built the Lake Champlain fleet for Carleton in 1776, including the 300-ton *Inflexible*, which was pre-cut and assembled at Quebec, then disassembled and carried to St. Johns where it was built and launched. Became Admiral of the Blue 1821 and died in 1825. A Fellow of the Royal Society and one of the original members of the Society for Improving Naval Architecture. (*Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books*, 537).

[9] B 154, 29. The nomenclature of this island confused the British. Some of the confusion arose over I. aux Chevreuils (now Grenadier I.) which would translate as "Buck I." Saultier's maps, published in this period, show Carleton I. as "I. à la Biche" (Doe or Deer I.). Mitchell's earlier map confused the issue further by calling Grenadier I. "Deer I." (*A Map of the Inhabited Part of Canada*, C. J. Saultier, London 1777; *A Chorographical Map of the Province of New York*, Claude Joseph Saultier, London, 1 January 1779; *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America*, John Mitchell, 1755). (Maps, except where cited otherwise, in The Public Archives of Canada).

[10] Stone, Wm. L., ed., *Johnson's Orderly Book during the Oriskany Campaign, 1776-79* (Albany, 1882), 81.

[11] B 154, 37 et seq.; 40 et seq.; 46; B 141, 6-7.



PART OF CARLETON ISLAND FROM A MAP BY LIEUT. A. GRAY, 1810

SECTION FROM J.H. DURHAM, CARLETON ISLAND IN THE REVOLUTION

Twiss immediately laid out the defences and got work started to make the new post habitable. He arranged to take six guns out of the armed vessels after their last voyage in the fall.[13] A supply of powder could be secured from stores left at Niagara by St. Leger in 1777. The 47th started preparing timber, sawing boards, making shingles and fascines, burning lime for mortar and building a stone pier, while the axemen of Johnson's Corps cleared a field of fire.[14] Soon they were joined by a detachment of the King's Regiment, some of whom guarded the

---

[12] *Map of Carleton I.*, Lieut. A. Gray, 1810.

[13] Q 15, 45. The *Return of His Majesty's Armed Vessels on the Lakes . . . of 26 June 1778* shows:

Snow (or senau) *Haldimand*	150 tons	14 cannon	12 swivels	32 hands
Snow *Seneca*	130 tons	18 cannon	12 swivels	45 hands
Sloop *Caldwell*	37 tons	2 cannon	6 swivels	10 hands

[14] Fascines are long bundles of sticks or twigs used to retain earth in the construction of trenches or other defences. A field of fire is a cleared area in front of defensive works where an approaching enemy can be seen and fired at.

stores of the force and some merchandise that had been temporarily deposited at the island's eastern end. Twiss regretted the lack of rum and requested that soldiers on fatigue duty should receive sixpence extra a day until spirits were available.[15]

The site was selected for the fort on the top of the cliff overlooking the harbours and the main defences were to face landward. By September 8 a store of lime had been burnt, a saw-pit, storehouse, carpenter and blacksmith's shop had been built, a "general hospital" was under way, logs had been cut for a barracks, shingles split for roofs, and a log parapet, earth-filled, had been begun.[16]

By the end of September Twiss had departed for Sorel where there were barracks to be built before winter. Glenie reported to Haldimand that the parapet was now five feet high and that a barrack 174 feet long was under construction. But, notwithstanding, the troops were to spend a bitter winter on the island. The quarrelsome commander Aubrey soon became embroiled with Glenie and the junior infantry officers; the work in consequence fell off. By November only four barrack-rooms out of sixteen were even partially completed. Aubrey could only find space in the barracks for himself, so that when tent life became unbearable for the cold the other officers had to build huts at their own expense. By the beginning of December the guns were mounted.[17]

Meanwhile on the American side, Washington was preparing plans for invading Canada from Connecticut during the course of the winter of 1778-79. He ordered skins to be collected for moccasins and snowshoes to be provided. Soon his plans grew in scope to encompass a move via Oswego down the St. Lawrence against Montreal as well as attacks on Niagara and Detroit and up the Connecticut River.[18] He first learned of the existence of the new Fort Haldimand in a report covering the proposed attack via Oswego, written in late November 1778 by the astute General Philip Schuyler: " . . . The enemy are in possession of Dear Island [i.e. Carleton Island]. What obstruction that will give to the advance of the Army I am not able to determine, not knowing the situation, extent of the strength of the fortifications and Garrison but they probably intend it as a cover for their shipping . . . "[19]

In mid-December Washington ordered his Quarter-Master General to lay in a quantity of ships' stores at Albany for the building of a fleet on Lake Ontario. Once more Congress was aiming eagerly at "the emancipation of Canada".[20] By the beginning of 1779 a reasonably accurate statement of British strength in Quebec reached the Continental Commander-in-Chief who continued planning the northern action.[21] But soon afterwards these ambitious plans were discarded in favour of a more modest effort. In mid-April Washington wrote John Jay, President of Congress, that finances and resources would not permit the planned offensive on such a scale: " . . . the state of our currency and supplies in general would oblige us to act on the defensive next campaign except so far as related to an expedition into the Indian country for chastising the savages and preventing their depredations on our back settlements . . . "[22] Haldimand's swift and timely action in establishing the fortified base at Carleton Island undoubtedly played its part in this decision.

---

[15] B 154, 40 et seq; B 127, 2. There would soon be plenty of rum on the island. Capt. Alex Fraser stated that sixteen hundred dollars worth (600-800 gallons) was sold there each week during the winter 1779-80. (B 127, 134).

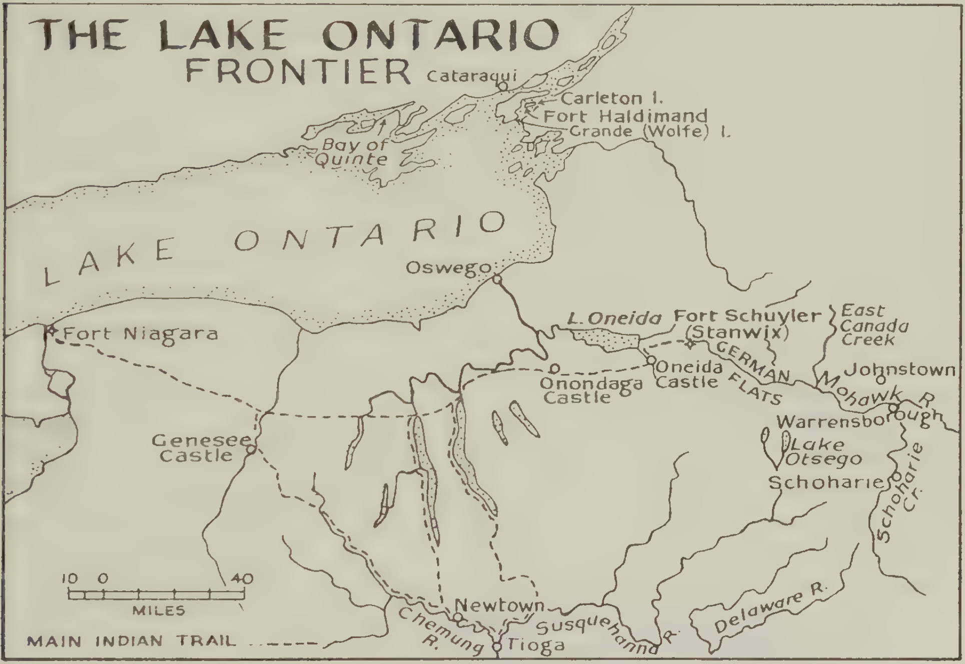
[16] B 154, 66.

[17] B 122, 418, 421, 428; B 127, 6, 18, 19, 27.

[18] MG 23, B 2, Vol. 86—11336.

[19] *Ibid.*, Vol 93—12416. What appears to be the log-book (undated) of a spy who passed eastward from Michilimackinac states " . . . to Dear Island where there is one hundred and fifty soldiers commanded by a Lieut. No fort there nor barracks but a Breast work flung up with loggs and some pieces of small cannons . . . " (MG 23, B 2, Vol. 94—12421).

Instead of attempting to seize the Province of Quebec it was decided to conduct a "scorched earth" campaign along the western frontier under the leadership of Sullivan and Clinton in New York and including raids from Pennsylvania under Brodhead and by George Rogers Clark further west to the Ohio. The most easterly and the largest of these raids was executed by Major-General Sullivan's force of eleven regiments with light infantry and artillery which advanced from Pennsylvania and New Jersey up the Susquehanna during the summer of 1779. Five regiments from New York crossed the Mohawk valley and descended the eastern branch


THE LAKE ONTARIO
FRONTIER
Cataraqui
Carleton I.
Fort Haldimand
Grande (Wolfe) I.
Bay of Quinte
LAKE ONTARIO
Oswego
Fort Niagara
L. Oneida
Fort Schuyler (Stanwix)
East Canada Creek
GERMAN FLATS
Oneida Castle
Onondaga Castle
Johnstown
Mohawk R.
Warrensborough
Lake Otsego
Schoharie
Schoharie Cr.
Genesee Castle
Newtown
Chemung R.
Tioga
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
10 0 40
MILES
MAIN INDIAN TRAIL

---

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. 94—12520-12522.
[21] *Ibid.*, Bayley to Gates, 1 January 1779.
[22] *Ibid.*, Vol. 103—13712-13714.

of the Susquehanna to meet Sullivan on August 22 at Tioga, the modern-day Athens, Pennsylvania. The combined forces, with their ponderous supply organization following, then set out methodically up the Chemung River, destroying settlements, orchards and crops as it went.[23] Eventually these northern and western campaigns of 1779 were to establish the United States' claim to the region lying between the south shore of the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, an area ceded to Canada by the Quebec Act in 1774. The immediate consequences, however, were less decisive. Certainly the savages had been chastised, but their depredations continued, and many of their raids originated from Carleton Island.

Haldimand's objective of establishing a British position at Oswego had to be abandoned owing to the exhaustion of supplies in the upper posts brought about by Henry Hamilton's unauthorized raid to the Ohio and his subsequent capture.[24] Clark's coup at Vincennes changed the strategic position in the west. The 47th Regiment was ordered from Carleton Island to reinforce Niagara and in its place to Fort Haldimand came Captain George MacDougall with seventy-nine rank and file of the Royal Yorkers. The departure of the 47th came just in time to avert a most serious situation. Aubrey, the commanding officer, seems to have irritated his subordinates by high-handed methods of command and inefficient administration. Schank had reported on him adversely to Haldimand in March, attributing to the commander a "lack of general good understanding among the officers". There was a series of quarrels among the officers during the winter, all involving Aubrey's disciplinary methods. The climax came when he arrested Glenie on what today appear to be exceedingly slim grounds. Timely orders arrived from Quebec, however, and both disputants moved on with the 47th to Niagara.[25]

The sudden aggressiveness of the Americans in the Mohawk sector was soon felt by the British in the Province of Quebec. In April Colonel Van Schaick, the officer commanding at Fort Schuyler, moved against Onondaga Castle, "capital" of the Iroquois Confederacy, burned it, and took prisoners.[26] On Carleton Island, too, MacDougall had excitement enough. A scouting party of Missisaugas sent to the Mohawk valley returned with word of great military activity in that region, and of encountering fresh tracks near Fort Haldimand. One morning a few men on outpost duty at the east end of the island disappeared while returning to the fort. The commanding officer sent a party of Indians to trace them, ordered that work parties return to the fort at night, and substituted a gunboat as a less dangerous means of guarding the eastern extremity of the island.[27] MacDougall came to believe in time that the men had deserted. Actually, they had been spirited away by a bold party of Oneidas led by a militiaman whom Van Schaick had sent up from Fort Schuyler.[28] On May 24 one hundred and forty Indians under white officers stopped briefly at Carleton Island before making an attack against Fort Schuyler. Work was started again on the fortifications, where much had to be done, "little or none being completed". Haldimand's orders were strict and detailed. An abattis[29] was built and a store-house for the provisions destined to the upper posts was commenced. The troops were paraded at five a.m., a scouting party reconnoitred the island every morning before the fort gates were opened, and branches between the abattis and the edge of the forest were collected, piled and burnt. MacDougall asked Haldimand for the "French Company" of the Royal Highland Emigrants "as they are Good Ax Men and exceeding Good Workers."[30]

---

[23] Cook, F., ed., *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major-General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians, 1779* (Auburn, N.Y.), 315-29, 343-60.

[24] Q 16-2, 111.

[25] B 127, 32, 39; B 128, 5, 7; B 141, 76-77.

[26] *Public Papers of George Clinton* (Albany, 1900), IV, 702. Fort Schuyler was the American name for Fort Stanwix. It commanded the portage between Lake Oneida and the Mohawk River and was the nearest American post to Carleton Island.

He needed a works officer; Glenie had not been replaced. But the Scot was resourceful: "Lieut Glanie arrived here this day [2 June] from Niagara on his way to Montreal. I shall stop him here till he settle his accounts and I shall take his Advice in carrying out the Works here until the arrival of the Engineer . . . " In June, Schank reappeared briefly and instituted a small naval escort for the bateaux between the island and Oswegatchie, for this traffic now was threatened by the increased enemy activity. He also had the Row Galley fitted with swivel-cannon to serve as a cruising and express vessel.[31] MacDougall carried on with the rampart and banquette and reported that the shipwrights were making little progress on a large vessel that had been commenced at the beginning of the month. About this time a scouting party returned from Fort Schuyler with a prisoner willing to talk,[32] but to offset this a gunner and a negro were carried off from Carleton Island in full daylight on June 11, the daily reconnaiscences from the fort notwithstanding. This was Van Schaick's work again. Onondagas were used, possibly through making threats against relatives captured in April and with the aid of blood-brothers in the British camp on the island.[33] These continued raids, like the patrols of later wars, helped each side learn about its enemy.

On 1 July 1779 Major Nairne with fifty Royal Highland Emigrants arrived from Oswegatchie and took over Fort Haldimand. He immediately noted that the Missisaugas were out of hand. These Indians, an Algonkian

---

27. B 127, 41-2.

28. MG 23 B 2 (2), Vol. 169, VI, 25.

29. B 127, 46. An abattis consisted of trees felled in the direction of enemy approach so as to intertwine. Ends of branches and strong twigs were sharpened. The abattis was the barbed wire of colonial warfare.

30. B 127, 46-48, 50-52; B 128, 13.

31. B 127, 50-54, 56-59; B 141, 142. The Row Galley, a craft of Arabic rig, had been built the previous December at Niagara, after American craft seen on Lake Champlain in 1776. The lateen-rig had to be changed to cutter-rig, as the sailors couldn't or wouldn't learn to sail her with the first-named. Chiquet, a French-Canadian, was made master. (B 141, 50, 144).

32. B 127, 53-54, 62-64.

33. B 127, 56-59; B 141, 142; MG 23 B 2 (2), Vol. 169-IV, 28.

tribe originally from the north shore of Lake Huron, frequented the post and enjoyed "too much freedom". The task of controlling them was made more difficult because there was no interpreter there who spoke their tongue. They were "almost intollerably greedy and importunate" and Nairne asked for Captain Fraser of the 34th or another officer of the Indian Department to manage them.[34]

By August work had progressed a little; ten cannon, brought up from the derelict works at Oswegatchie and Fort William Augustus, had been mounted on the walls.[35] To the south Sullivan's and Clinton's men were meticulously devastating the Indian agricultural settlements. Brushing Walter Butler and Joseph Brant aside at Newtown on the 29th they pushed on up past Lake Cayuga, then westward toward Genesee Castle, destroying as they went. Once again Niagara seemed doomed. On September 6 and again on the 10th Carleton Island received orders for reinforcements from Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton at Niagara. The tension was relieved when Walter Butler captured an American reconnaissance patrol on the 14th and learned that Sullivan's force, short of food, did not intend going beyond Genesee Castle. On their return the Americans passed over a ruined countryside. Forty-three settlements, some of more than fifty houses, lay in ashes, the standing corn had been burned in the fields, and the orchards levelled by the axe.[36]

Haldimand deemed a counter-blow necessary to placate the Indians: "I have not a doubt that unless a well timed assistance may prevent it they will be forced into a neutrality, which with Indians is little better than a declaration of War against the weakest Party", he wrote Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies on September 13th. A detachment of about four hundred troops under Sir John Johnson, with a large body of Indians, was ordered to the assistance of the Five Nations against the Americans. On the 26th, much too late, Sir John arrived at Carleton Island on his slow way from Montreal, his Indians laggard and very angry over the virtually unopposed destruction of their settlements. Chief Tiohaguendé delivered a bitter and disrespectful harangue. But Johnson did not leave until the 30th.[37]

On the same hectic day of Johnson's arrival a company of Hessian Jägers came in from the west, sent down from Niagara where they had refused to work on the fortifications. These German troops had arrived after Burgoyne had set out in 1777. Nairne was soon to try to send them back to Niagara but Captain Graf Karl Ludwig von Wittgenstein pleaded that they remain, promising that his men would do "as much more duty with arms than the other troops as we coud desire."[38]

---

[34] B 127, 66, 68, 69; B 128, 19.

[35] Formerly Fort Lévis. The site was on Chimney Island, just below Prescott. The island was recently removed for the Seaway.

[36] Robert Erskine, Geographer to the Army of the U.S., compiled maps of the expedition from field notes. The survey did not extend to Oswego and Carleton I. (See *Simon de Witt collection* (maps) in N.-Y. Historical Society, New York City.) Cook, F., *op. cit.*, 343-60; B 127, 71, 74-76.

[37] B 127, 82, 84, 87-88; Swiggett, H., *War out of Niagara* (New York, 1933), 200; Q 16-1, 355; Q 16-2, 607; B 128, 33.

Johnson was too late to harass Sullivan's force and had to abandon an attempt against the Oneidas because the Canada Indians would not fight. He returned from Oswego to Carleton Island on 28 October, his native allies semi-mutinous. Captain Fraser who, as Nairne had requested, had come up as Indian Agent, was considerably alarmed by their attitude. He recommended that the Indians be compelled "to cooperate with the Troops . . . or otherwise of *providing against them as an enemy.*"[39] But the danger from troublesome Indians passed. All of the Canada Indians departed and only a few dispossessed Five Nations families accepted the British suggestion to winter at Carleton Island. They preferred the larger and more accessible post at Niagara and considered the island too remote. Some decided to return to the sites of their villages since all the corn had not been destroyed and news had come that the Americans had precipitately abandoned their base at Tioga. Those who returned said they preferred to "maintain themselves during the winter rather than quit their Country in a manner which might by the Rebels be imputed to fear."[40]

By the end of November Nairne departed, leaving Fraser in command at Fort Haldimand. The winter was late in coming—navigation could have been carried on until the beginning of December—but soon the snow lay uncommonly deep, too deep for scouting patrols. Haldimand sent snowshoes to enable the messengers to keep up the communications. The defences were improved, another abattis was built outside the first one, and another around the shipping and naval stores, "with a block house mounting three guns for the defence of the new vessel and the Naval barracks." There was activity and cooperation all around; even the Jägers were energetic at guard duty and the civilians and the merchants and merchants' agents offered to patrol as guards all night around the garrison and shipping. The works were improved under the direction of Lt. Dambourges.[41]

On 19 February 1780 the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Delaware Indians on Carleton Island directed an address to Haldimand.

> Brother Assaragowa, your Brothers the Six Nations salute you with much kindness. Tho you did not send us the Assistance we askd (in time) last year we have now forgot that; as we cannot help what is past, we will think no more of it.
>
> Brother, you have twice sent some of your Warriors past this place, but you did not at any time send enough—& the Cannon Balls and Shells you sent were too small and only served to make the bad people your enemies laugh as if it had been Apples that Children were throwing over a Garden Fence.
>
> We beg Brother you will send your people soon this year, and send a greater number of them, and you will do well also to send bigger shells; and Balls that will make greater Holes.

---

[38] B 127, 82, 108-9.
[39] *Ibid.*, 91-97.
[40] *Ibid.*, 101-3.
[41] *Ibid.*, 108, 117-20; B 128, 45.

> Courage Brother Assaragowa: your Bretheren of the Six Nations were never stronger for the King than they are at present.
>
> Brother send your Warriors soon and send many. You always said your Warriors were as numerous as the Leaves on the trees. The leaves were but few in the Fall but we hope the Spring will produce a great many.
>
> A String of Wampum[42]

The statesmanship of this speech was due in large measure to the presence of Molly Brant on the island. Joseph Brant's sister, and spouse of the late Sir William Johnson, the former Indian Agent for the Northern Department, Molly had forsaken her home in the Mohawk valley and gone to Niagara and from there to Montreal but the troubles of her people led her to start back for Niagara with her family. Being unable to secure passage across Lake Ontario with her entourage in the fall of 1779 she stayed the winter in the barracks at Carleton Island. She was the head of a society of Six Nations matrons who had a great deal to say among their warriors, particularly in time of war. As Captain Alex Fraser told Haldimand, "their [the Iroquois'] uncommon good behaviour is in a great measure to be ascribed to Miss Molly Brant's influence over them, which is far superior to that of all their Cheifs put together."[43] The winter passed pleasantly enough for her, even gaily. Gilbert Tice wrote, "Miss Molley and the Children are in Good Helth and wee pass our time very agreabel Considering all things. Wee have a boll once a week and Several other things to pass the time."[44]

Another spring arrived. The winter had been bitter and Lake Ontario was not open until 1 May 1780. A patrol led by Lieutenant Crawford, the Indian agent, had returned from Johnstown on 20 April with seventeen prisoners, and some of the Missisaugas proposed taking them to Canada to sell them. Construction recommenced. A ditch was begun in the rock and the new ship started the year before was completed and set into the water on 20 May. The Jägers by now were sickly because of their "idle life" and "their refusing to take Spruce beer with the other troops in hopes to receive money in lieu of it". Fraser would have liked to use their scorbutic complaint to get rid of them for "they are not so fit to *serve* with or live with Indians as any others . . . "[45]

---

[42] B 127, 114-15. The Delawares were completely subject to the Iroquois. Normally they did not engage in war or politics, the men being dressed in women's clothing and put at women's work. (Wilson, E., "Apologies to the Iroquois" *The New Yorker*, 17 October 1959, Part I, 50). Wampum in its original form—white and purple beads cut from conch and mussel shells—was strung on leather and made into belts one hand wide and about two feet long. They "give and receive [belts] at the Treaties as the seals of Friendship; for lesser Matters a single String is given." (Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Nations of Canada*, I (New York edition, 1904), xxviii-xxixn).

[43] B 127, 117. Gundy, H. P., "Molly Brant—Loyalist" (*Ontario History*, XLV (3), Summer 1953, 101-2).

[44] Claus Papers, Vol. 2, 175.

[45] B 127, 124-5, 132, 137, 161. Sufferers from scurvy received scant help from Surgeon's Mate H. de C. Gill. In the opinion of John Clunes, a merchant's clerk on the island, he was " . . . a piddlen, prattling Surgeon's mate who stiles himself a doctor and says he is a very good one if he had drugges but being so much engaged with the Beautys of this Island and almost every night drunk, forgot to send in due season to Canada for drugges . . . " (Durham, J. C., *Carleton Island in the Revolution*, Syracuse, 1889, 82).

Trade goods were pouring in: blankets, cloth, hosiery, shoes, hardware, sugar, coffee, spices, tobacco, pipes, weapons, powder, shot, wines and rum—and Fraser deplored the prices " . . . all things cost double what they do at the upper posts". He had detected Mackay, the post's Commissary, engaging in trading with the Indians and in mid-April he compiled a return showing the holdings of merchants' goods in the island's storehouses. For shipment to Forsyth & Dyce at Detroit and for Thomas Robison at Niagara there were large consignments in the care of the agent R. Hamilton. The local merchants listed were Alexander Campbell, Robert Macaulay, and Hugh Mackay the Commissary in the name of his wife Mary. Mackay was only operating in a small way. His holdings consisted of 192 gallons of "Jamica Spirits" (out of the total holdings of merchants on the island of 3292 gallons of rum and 1200 gallons of wine), two pieces of strouding, and about one hundred blankets.[46]

On May 10 Crawford was once more out on patrol with over a hundred Indians and some white men, bound for the Mohawk to support Sir John Johnson's raid on Johnstown by the Lake Champlain route. But the Indians were recalcitrant and Crawford's raid could only reach Fort Schuyler. In the absence of the men the island had to depend on the squaws for vigilance.[47] The party returned on June 1, the Missisaugas bringing back sixteen prisoners, including some women and children who were carried. The next day Captain Fraser reported that the Missisaugas refused to give up their prisoners and "publickly ravished the women yesterday in their Camp, a circumstance that can hardly be called aggravated by their being children to Loyalists . . . Such shocking behaviour . . . will if known among the Colonists create His Majesty more bitter enemies there than he can collect of useful Allies amongst the Indians." The Indians denied the violence and Haldimand accepted their denial.[48]

On June 21 Molly Brant left Carleton Island for Montreal. Fraser suggested that she could be induced to stay on the island if a house were built for her, and warned Haldimand that she "may want to go to Niagara where she will be a very unwellcome guest to Colo Bolton . . . and if She be not humoured in all her demands for herself and dependents (which are numerous) she may by the violence of her temper be led to create mischief—I therefore judge it would be better she remaind where she was . . . " This is indeed a far cry from his earlier praise of her good influence on the Indians and one wonders at his motives. He went on: "I have at my own expence made a tollerable good garden for her and I have contributed all in my power to have made her Situation as comfortable as possible—indeed she seems very well pleased with her treatment and I had every reason to be satisfyd with her Conduct through the winter". The Scot was eager to retain the spirited forty-three-year-old Mohawk princess on Carleton Island! At any event, the house was soon approved.[49]

---

[46] B 127, 126-130, 143.
[47] B 127, 137-8.
[48] B 127, 148-9, 152, 176-7; B 128, 65.

At this time Wittgenstein left with most of his Jägers. Fraser's valedictory shows his distaste: "All that Corps have some peculiarities respecting their exemption from work and some other Points—which may seem disagreeable to British troops." But he added that they were very exact upon duty and got along well with other troops.[50] Patrol after patrol meanwhile was sent out, despite a shortage of white officers to guard against the maltreatment of prisoners by the Indians, and Fort Schuyler was kept under constant surveillance.[51]

During the summer Fraser experienced trouble from the bateaux men. They were slow; they lost letters and were hiring substitutes—Haldimand was using corvées of Canadiens for this work—and the substitutes lost some craft in the rapids. Sir John Johnson, bound on his great raid against Schoharie, arrived on September 17 and soon departed for Oswego. From here he moved to Tioga, up the East branch of the Susquehanna and over the divide to Schoharie. On October 17 he burned the crops and buildings in this important grain-producing area. He was pressed hard by the angry Americans, fought a series of rearguard actions while moving via the Mohawk back to Oswego, where Fraser's bateaux took him off at the end of the month.[52]

The post settled down to a life of routine. On November 5 the sister of a Mohawk chief told Molly Brant that a St. Regis Indian called "The Negro" had been at Rhode Island and there had received messages from the French for their compatriots and Indians in Canada. On the 8th came the shocking news that the new ship *Ontario* while en route from Niagara had been sunk in a storm with a loss of all hands, including Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton. Shipwrights arrived from Detroit and Niagara to start work on another vessel.[53]

For the winter of 1780-81 Major John Ross came up from Coteau du Lac at the end of November with a hundred men and took over the fort. He found the fortifications weak, the "parapets only Six feet thick Partially filled with Rubbish and Stones" and set his men to work to strengthen the fort. Miss Molly, with her children and negro servants, was in her new house and well satisfied. By the end of January 1781 the works had been raised, the gun-platforms improved and a bomb-proof magazine built. From Quebec Twiss pointed out that a ditch should be excavated in the rock and bomb-proof buildings made,[54] and the bomb-proofs were completed during the spring. At the end of April a requisition was made for thirty barrels of powder and six dozen portfires: "Half a Portfire is used every day at present for blowing the Ditch of the Fort," that is, igniting the powder. The excavation was slow; with hand tools powder holes in limestone are drilled at the rate of about twelve inches an hour. But by 20 August the ditch was complete and work on the fortifications was finished.[55]

---

[49] B 127, 163; B 128, 72.

[50] B 127, 163.

[51] *Ibid.*, 167, 172, 174.

[52] *Ibid.*, 166, 170, 184, 192; Q 15, 278; Swiggett, *op cit.*, 222-3; Stone, W. L., *Life of Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea* (New York, 1838), II, 110-124.

[53] B 127, 198, 200; B 128, 85. The St. Regis Indians were of Iroquois stock but did not belong to the Confederacy. They were usually loyal to the British during the Revolution. (Schoolcraft, H. R., *Notes on the Iroquois* (Albany, 1847), 114-116). However, they tend to be associated with the Confederacy today. (Wilson, E., *op. cit.*, Part I, 86 et seq.).

On June 11, 1781 Ross received news from a prisoner that Fort Schuyler had been burned and abandoned, the cannon being removed to German Flats. A patrol quickly confirmed this news. On the enemy side, Brigadier James Clinton on May 14 had written to the commanding officer of Fort Schuyler: " . . . how a fire should break out in the middle of noon day, . . . after a most violent and incessant rain of several days . . . affords plausible ground for suspicion that it was not the effect of meer accident . . . " In any event, this final catastrophe piled on top of supply difficulties occasioned by the destruction of farms in the Mohawk valley and at Schoharie, led the Americans to abandon the fort and withdraw their defences farther down the Mohawk.[56]

In August 1781 Ross reported that the Mohawk valley was undefended, but a patrol under Lieutenant Crawford soon learned otherwise when it was nearly caught by the energetic Lieutenant-Colonel Marinus Willett.[57] As September drew to a close, Ross secured authority from Haldimand to lead a strong raiding force against the ravaged Mohawk valley.[58] If an offensive by Sir Henry Clinton from New York City had been coupled with this raid, it would have greatly embarrassed George Washington. Clinton, however, did nothing and Washington was able to move off to join forces with the French and crush Cornwallis at Yorktown. And while Ross forayed in the Mohawk valley the war was decided in Virginia by Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, October 19, 1781.

Ross had left Oswego on October 11th, moving via Lake Oneida with fewer savages than he expected, for Sir John Johnson had sent few from Niagara, and only sixty were available on the island, many having been sent after ginseng by traders.[59] As he reached the Mohawk, alarm guns were fired, but by marching his force hard he evaded the enemy. His Rangers and Indians set the settlement of Warrensborough aflame for seven miles and then prudently retreated until, brought to bay, his force temporarily beat off Willett's pursuit at Johnstown on the 25th, then headed overland for Carleton Island. The weather was bad and the

---

[54] B 127, 212, 214, 216, 218-19.

[55] *Ibid.*, 223-25, 253; *Manual of Field Engineering*, Royal Engineers, 1936.

[56] B 127, 237, 239; *Papers of Geo. Clinton*, VI, 878.

[57] B 127, 250; B 128, 26.

[58] B 128, 105-7.

[59] B 127, 260, 275. Ginseng (*panax ginseng*) is a celebrated Chinese medicine. The similar root *panax quinquefolium* of North America is a substitute. Esteemed as a restorative of virility and as a general curative, it fetched a high price. It was found in the Bay of Quinte region.

Rangers and Indians had difficulty in finding the path. Willett pressed and on the 30th he surprised the Indians still in camp. Pursuer and pursued hurried on, pell-mell, and Captain Walter Butler, commanding the rearguard, was killed at the crossing of East Canada Creek. The pursuit fell off and Ross's force reached the island. Ross reported his losses as one officer and twelve men killed, forty-nine men missing.[60]

During the ensuing winter of 1781-82 Ross had a stockade built around the neck of land, joined to abattis across the ice of the two little bays within which the ships were laid up, the whole being designed to protect ships and naval and provision stores. One of his patrols on the Mohawk in late October 1781 heard a *feu de joie* celebrating Cornwallis's surrender. During the winter, fire, that ever-recurring scourge of settlements in the Canadian winter, struck at the naval artificers' barracks. Sails and rigging were consumed in the flames and the efforts of soldiers and seamen could save only part of the naval stores, including over two hundred barrels of pitch.[61]

On March 6, 1782, Ross received orders to carry out Haldimand's original plan of 1778 to occupy Oswego and departed for that post. In reply to an address of February 1780 from the Indians, Haldimand had announced, through the Indian Agent Claus, that he would set up a post at Oswego as soon as possible. Ross was succeeded at Carleton Island by Captain William Ancrum.[62] The war having virtually come to an end the base enjoyed a year of tranquillity, but even before the peace was signed the Americans appeared before the new Fort Ontario at Oswego, and Haldimand was " . . . convinced of their Design previous to a Peace, to establish themselves as far as possible in the upper Country to awe the Indians and secure the Fur Trade." Once the treaty had been signed American commerce and diplomacy displayed great energy. In July 1783, two deputies from Congress in French officers' uniforms were reported to have gone to Niagara and Detroit to invite Indian chiefs to Philadelphia and by mid-August American traders' bateaux from Schenectady, loaded with rum, had reached Niagara. On the British side, the arrival at Quebec on April 25, 1783 of the Royal Proclamation for a Cessation of Arms was followed by the suspension of work on fortifications and public enterprises at the inland posts and the curtailment of transport of stores and provisions to the upper country.[63]

Major Samuel Holland arrived at Carleton Island in May 1783, with a commission to survey and examine the ground at Cataraqui and on the north side of Lake Ontario for the settlement of the Five Nations Indians and for a townsite to accommodate Loyalist settlers.[64] For the present the fate of Carleton Island was undecided. The boundary, accord-

---

60. B 127, 266-74, 277. Casualty figures do not include Indians.
61. *Ibid.*, 291, 293, 296-7.
62. *Ibid.*, 299, 300; Claus Papers, Vol. 2, 216.
63. B 128, 116, 120, 125; MG 19 A2 (3) Vol. 48, letter of 24 July 1783.
64. B 115, 113-14; B 124, 34-7; B 127, 329.

ing to the preliminary peace treaty of November 30, 1782, was the main channel of the St. Lawrence River. Uncertainty regarding the ultimate disposition of Carleton Island, which lay in the main channel, contributed to the increasing attention now being paid to Cataraqui. However, the island post was not abandoned. By the end of November 1783 its residents included thirty-seven Loyalists, male and female, among them Molly Brant's household and Captain Crawford with his wife and children. The garrison, which at the beginning of 1783 had numbered 744 men, fell to 385 a year later and by September 1784 consisted merely of one lieutenant and twenty-four men of the 34th.[65]

On the mainland efforts were being made to resettle the Five Nations Indians about the new post at Cataraqui. The Missisaugas who congregated there were not pleased at having to go over to Carleton Island in 1783 to arrange the sale of their lands about Cataraqui. Their spokesman in the transactions was the chief Uynas.[66] But Haldimand advised Ross, who was now employed at Cataraqui, not to move any of the barracks or stores from the island to the mainland, feeling that the post was not absolutely ceded to the Americans. This was a part of his plan to retain possession of the western posts, which were not finally surrendered by Britain until 1795, after the signing of Jay's Treaty the previous year. Nonetheless life was passing Carleton Island by. On September 11, 1783 Michael Grass arrived at Montreal with the first of the Loyalists he planned to settle about the old site of Fort Frontenac, and soon lots were being laid out there.[67] In mid-October Joseph Brant was using his influence to get a house built for "Miss Molly" in the new settlement. In late 1784 she moved to Cataraqui where she lived peacefully till her death in 1796.[68]

In 1785 when Robert Hunter stopped at Carleton Island on his way to the west, he reported: "The vessels that used to come here from Niagara are now all ordered to Cataroqui and all the stores will be immediately removed there . . . The stupid Oswald gave it up with the other forts through his ignorance of geography. . . . The fort is very strong, with a bastion at each corner, a sally port and some noble blockhouses."[69] Three years later Captain Gother Mann, Commanding Engineer, sent to report upon the western posts, recommended the island as a better site for a naval base than Kingston, but he noted that already the works were much decayed.[70] By the end of 1790, although much construction had been undertaken by the British at Oswego (another of the occupied posts), nothing had been done at Carleton Island.[71] Patrick Campbell, late in November 1791, noted that the barracks, dry ditch and rampart still remained, but in a decayed state.[72] In 1794 Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was characteristically enthusiastic about the old post, but Lord Dorchester was cautious, foreseeing its ultimate surrender in a definitive boundary settlement.[73] Curiously, however, the United States failed to occupy the island after Jay's Treaty, and a tiny garrison of three veterans was still watching over Fort Haldimand as late as 1812 when, upon the opening of hostilities, it was surprised and captured by a small American force under Abner Hubbard of Millen Bay.[74] After continuing in American hands through the whole of the War of 1812 Carleton Island was formally ceded by the boundary settlement of 1817 to the United States.

---

[65] *Ibid.*, 338, 358; B 173, 104, 141.

[66] B 126, 14, 56, 70, 87.

[67] *Ibid.*, 40. Michael Grass was a German saddler and harness maker who obtained a commission as Captain of Militia in New York from Carleton. He had been a prisoner of the French in Cataraqui previously. (Burt, A. L., *The Old Province of Quebec*, Toronto, 1933, 369).

[68] B 126, 40, 43, 142; Gundy, H. P., *op. cit.*, 105.

[69] Hunter, Robert Jr., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785-86*, (edited by L. B. Wright and M. Tinling, San Marino, Cal., 1943), 81 et seq. Richard Oswald was a Scottish merchant entrusted by England to negotiate the boundary settlement.

[70] MG 23 J—10.

---

[71] C 381, 60.

[72] Campbell, Patrick, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792*, (ed. H. H. Langton, The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1937), 144.

[73] E. A. Cruikshank, ed. *Correspondence of John Graves Simcoe* (Ontario Historical Society, Toronto, 1923-31), III, 41.

[74] Preston, R. A., *Kingston before the War of 1812*, (The Champlain Society, Toronto 1959), lxxxviii.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Major C. C. J. Bond is the cartographer of the Historical Section, Army Headquarters, Ottawa.

John D. P. Martin is Assistant-Librarian, The Royal Military College, Kingston.

Hamilton Craig is a retired banker, formerly of Montreal, who now makes his home in Toronto.

THE PROVINCIAL FREEMAN

It has been brought to our attention that the article "*The Provincial Freeman*: A New Source for the History of the Negro in Canada" by Alex L. Murray (*Ontario History*, Volume 51, Number 1, Winter 1959) largely duplicates another piece by the same author entitled "The Provincial Freeman: A New Source for the History of the Negro in Canada and the United States" which appeared almost simultaneously in *The Journal of Negro History* (Volume 44, Number 2, April 1959).

Through correspondence with the editor of that Journal, Dr. William M. Brewer, we have learned that manuscripts were offered to both periodicals at approximately the same time and in each instance the article was accepted for publication in ignorance of the plans of the other quarterly and on its merits.

THE EDITOR.

THE REGIMENT DE WATTEVILLE: ITS SETTLEMENT AND SERVICE IN UPPER CANADA

By John D. P. Martin

On May 27, 1813, the *Quebec Gazette* printed the following announcement *"By This Day's Post"*: "There are accounts from Lisbon to the 16th April. Watteville's Regiment sailed from Cadiz on the 6th April, under convoy of a 74." The Regiment de Watteville's destination was Canada, and this was the beginning of a long road which led eventually to the military settlement at Perth in Upper Canada. By the time the item appeared in print a detachment had been already in this country for ten days. It had arrived at Quebec on May 17th in the ships *Ann* and *Canada* after an exceptionally quick voyage in a convoy which took only twenty-eight days in passage from the rendezvous at Cork.[1] Ships carrying the main body of the regiment entered Quebec harbour early in June in a large convoy which brought reinforcements for the small British army locked in combat with the American invaders of Canadian territory during the War of 1812. The *Quebec Gazette* of June 10, 1813, listed officers and men of De Watteville's Regiment as passengers of the brig *John and Robert*, the ships *Golden Fleece*, *Malabar* and *Dick*, all of which arrived on June 6th, and of the ship *Rolla* which docked on June 7th. The route for each is given as "from Cadiz via Halifax." Immediately after disembarking the regiment was despatched upcountry to the Montreal area.

The Regiment de Watteville was one of several Swiss regiments in the British service. It had been placed on the regular establishment of the British army in 1801, the officers' commissions bearing the date May 1st of that year. Since that time its varied career in Malta, Elba, Egypt, Italy and Spain had been uniformly distinguished. For its role in a famous bayonet charge which had routed French troops under General Regnier in Calabria in 1806, the regiment was allowed to bear "Maida" on its colours. It had taken part in the occupation of Sicily and the ensuing operations, and in September 1810 the Light Company had helped repel Marat's attempted invasion of Sicily from across the Straits of Messina. In June 1811 the regiment had been ordered to Ireland but upon reaching Cadiz in October it was retained there to reinforce the garrison. Thereafter, although a detachment of five companies was sent to garrison Cartagena in January 1812, regimental headquarters remained at Cadiz until the departure for Canada in April 1813. For its services under the Duke of Wellington the regiment bore "Peninsula" on its colours.[2]

---

[1] *Quebec Gazette*, May 20th, 1813.

[2] For details relating to the regiment's genesis and its European background, see C. T. Atkinson, "Foreign Regiments in the British Army, 1793-1802", *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XXII (1943/4), 328-9; also G. Malchelosse's excellent essay "Deux Régiments Suisses au Canada", *Les Cahiers des Dix*, II, 261-296.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 1.

According to the custom of the day the regiment was named after its colonel, Abraham Louis Charles de Watteville, a Swiss officer from Berne.[3] Following his arrival in Canada Louis de Watteville was immediately promoted to the rank of major-general and command of the regiment devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Victor Fischer. The latter remained in charge throughout the most active period of the regiment's operational career in Canada until he was seriously wounded in the American sortie from Fort Erie on September 17, 1814, whereupon the command passed to Lieutenant-Colonel Rodolphe de May.

The Regiment de Watteville was composed of 12 companies with a complement of 200 men per company. According to one authority, however, during the Regiment's stay in Canada the complement never exceeded an average of 110.4 men per company. The same writer, after presenting an interesting analysis of the composition of the whole regiment, estimates that a total of 1379 officers and other ranks were able to sail for Canada in April 1813.[4] C. T. Atkinson gives the establishment for 1811-12 as 1603,[5] and the *Quebec Gazette* of June 10, 1813, in announcing the regiment's arrival, optimistically stated that it was 1600 strong.

It had been intended that the Regiment de Watteville should be brigaded with another Swiss regiment, De Meuron's, and stationed in the Montreal District.[6] On June 22, however, the regiment was ordered to march to Kingston. En route, a detachment of two battalion companies under command of a field officer was left to garrison Prescott, thereby relieving a detachment of the 100th Regiment which was also ordered to Kingston.[7] For the next year at least part of De Watteville's was continuously on garrison duty at Kingston.

On September 21, 1813, the regiment's flank companies, the Light Infantry and the Grenadiers, were ordered to join the Centre Division at York as quickly as possible. They embarked in bateaux under the command of Major Charles de Villatte and rowed to the head of the Bay of Quinte, from which they proceeded to York on foot.[8] A week later their instructions were reversed. Perturbed by the concentration of American forces under General Wilkinson at Sackett's Harbour and the consequent exposure of Kingston to enemy attack, Major-General de Rottenburg, the British commander in Upper Canada, ordered the flank companies back to Kingston.[9] They sailed from York in a flotilla of small transports for which Commodore Yeo's fleet was expected to supply protection. But Yeo had other and greater anxieties. Having evaded the American fleet at the head of the lake, he was bringing the small British fleet as rapidly as possible to Kingston in order to help in the defence of that place, and consequently failed to make contact with the convoy. Off the Main Duck Island, between 7 and 8 o'clock on the evening of October 5th, the transports fell in with Commodore Chauncey's squadron which was pursuing Yeo. The schooner *Enterprise* succeeded in making its escape in the darkness with a sergeant and 28 or 29 grenadiers of De Watteville's,[10] but the remainder of the two flank companies fell into American hands. Listed among the prisoners of war landed from Chauncey's squadron on October 6th and 7th, 1813, are Major Charles de Villatte, Captain Frederick Zehender, Lieutenants Francis Decenter [Dicenta], David Duval and Albert Manuel, Surgeon Orbi, and 86 other ranks of the De Watteville Regiment.[11]

---

[3] F. J. Audet, "Abraham-Louis Charles de Watteville", *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXXII (1926), 749-751.

[4] Malchelosse, *op. cit.*, 264 (note 6), and 268.

[5] Atkinson, *op. cit.*, 319.

[6] General Order, Kingston, 19th May, 1813, in William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (3 vols. in 4, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1920-28), II, 360.

[7] General Order, Kingston, 22d June, 1813; General Order, 26th June, 1813, in E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier . . .* (9 vols., Welland, 1896-1908), II (1813), 104, 156.

[8] General Order, Kingston, 21st Sept. 1813, in *ibid.*, III (1813), 156.

[9] De Rottenburg to Prevost, Sept. 30th, 1813, in *ibid.*, 179.

The loss of its flank companies was a bitter blow to the Regiment de Watteville, especially in view of the difficulty of securing recruits for a foreign legion in Canada. Sir George Prevost, reporting on the loss of the companies to Colonel Torrens, Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, asked in view of the lack of opportunity for recruiting in Canada, that a detachment to replace the companies be chosen from among the recruits at the Foreign Depot in England, "and which I am induced earnestly to recommend from the general steady good conduct of this Regiment since its arrival in the Canadas and which I am desirous should be again completed to its establishment."[12]

The year 1813 ended quietly for the De Watteville's in garrison at Kingston. Presumably they continued work on the defences at Point Henry which Major-General Darroch, in command at Kingston, had ordered four of their companies to begin in October.[13] In November the two companies that had been left behind to garrison Prescott were relieved by the 1st Division of the 2nd Battalion of Royal Marines. They rejoined the regiment at Kingston,[14] thus bringing the ten battalion companies together again for the first time since the end of June.

During the winter of 1814, the dockyards of Kingston and Sackett's Harbour throbbed with shipbuilding activities as the rival naval commanders strove to outbuild one another and win the ascendancy on Lake Ontario. The British gained a slight superiority on April 14th with the launching of the frigates *Prince Regent* of fifty-eight guns and *Princess Charlotte* of thirty-six. Both Commodore Yeo and Lieutenant-General Drummond, now commanding the British forces in Upper Canada, had wanted to attack the enemy at Sackett's Harbour. But since they were unable to obtain from Sir George Prevost the forces necessary for such a large-scale combined operation they decided to attack Oswego instead. Here the Americans had been gathering ordnance and naval supplies to outfit the new ships they had recently launched at Sackett's Harbour,[15] so a successful stroke against Oswego might impede the Americans from regaining naval superiority and prevent their disrupting the British line of communications between Kingston and the poorly-supplied force at the head of Lake Ontario.

---

[10] Darroch to Prevost, Oct. 6th, 1813, in *ibid.,* 201-2.

[11] *Historical Register of the United States, 1814* (Washington, 1814-16, 4 vols.) II, 292, and ibid., 210-11.

[12] Prevost to Torrens, Oct. 30th, 1813, in Wood, *op. cit.,* II, 221.

[13] Darroch to Prevost, Oct. 6th, 1813, in Cruikshank, *op. cit.,* III (1813), 202.

[14] General Order, Montreal, Nov. 3d, 1813, in Wood, *op. cit.,* II, 436.

On Tuesday evening, May 3rd, 1814, the troops taking part in the expedition went aboard the ships of the fleet. Included in the force were six companies of the Regiment de Watteville, with 75 rank and file per company. Although Lieutenant-General Drummond was accompanying the expedition, the immediate command of all the troops was entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Victor Fischer of the Regiment de Watteville. Drummond embarked on the *Prince Regent* at daybreak on May 4th and the fleet had weighed anchor by 6.15 a.m.[16] Because of the uncertainty of the wind the fleet did not arrive before Oswego until noon May 5th. A reconnaissance force of gunboats under Captain Collier was sent in close to the fort to ascertain the number and positions of the enemy guns. The main attack was timed for eight o'clock in the evening but a gale arose at sunset and the fleet had to be withdrawn off-shore.

The assault began late next morning with a bombardment of the fort and town. The landing party consisted of the second battalion of Royal Marines, a detachment of 200 seamen armed with pikes, a company of Glengarry Light Infantry, and the two newly-formed flank companies of the De Watteville Regiment led by Captain Rodolphe de Bersey. These were standing by in boats and pushed off when the firing began. Because of the shortage of boats the four battalion companies of De Watteville's and a detachment of artillery remained in reserve on board the *Princess Charlotte* and the schooner *Magnet*.

As the troop-laden boats approached the shore, the guns of the brigs *Star* and *Charwell* swept the woods on the low point near the foot of the hill where the troops were expected to form for the advance up to the fort. The landing was made about 1.30 p.m. in the face of heavy gunfire from the fort and from enemy forces drawn up in the woods and on the brow of the hill. Where the Regiment de Watteville disembarked the water was full of shoals. Many of the boats grounded, forcing the soldiers to leap into waist-deep water and wade ashore. Since at the same time they were under the direct fire of the enemy, they lost a number of men and were slightly delayed in gaining their formation ashore.

---

[15] The brig *Jefferson* was launched on April 7th and the brig *Jones* on April 10th. However, personnel and guns to man and arm them were slow in arriving, because of the poor state of the roads. The large ship, *Superior,* was not launched until May 2d, only three days before the British captured Oswego. See E. A. Cruikshank, "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1814", Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records,* XXI, (1924), 117-8.

[16] Major-General Stovin to Prevost, May 5th, 1814, in Cruikshank, *Documentary History,* IX, 328-9.

As soon as the landing was successfully achieved the troops quickly deployed for the assault. The flank companies of the Regiment de Watteville,[17] under the command of Captain de Bersey, spearheaded the attack, while the company of Glengarry Light Infantry cleared the woods to the left and the sailors and marines formed a column to the right. Within ten minutes the long steep hill had been surmounted, the fort overrun and captured, and the Americans had fled, leaving behind about sixty men, half of them wounded, as prisoners. In the action, the De Watteville's lost a drummer and 7 rank and file killed, and a sergeant and 17 rank and file wounded. Captain Pancrace Legenderw and Lieutenant Victor May were severely wounded, the latter dying afterwards of his injuries. Following the attack, the troops spent the rest of the day burning the barracks, dismantling the fort and destroying all the supplies which could not be carried away. Their mission accomplished, they re-embarked at 4 o'clock the following morning and the squadron returned to Kingston.

Later in July, 1814, with the American invasion of the Niagara Peninsula and capture of Fort Erie, the centre of action shifted to the head of the lake. Orders were issued for one wing of the Regiment de Watteville to proceed immediately to Burlington and for the other wing to follow as soon as it could be relieved at Kingston by either the 6th or 82d Regiment coming up from Montreal.[18] Boisterous weather prevented the Right Wing of De Watteville's from sailing on July 15th, and on the 16th it was forced to begin the long arduous march by land.[19] At York the regiment was able to embark on schooners sent by Lieutenant-General Drummond who was anxiously awaiting reinforcements. It landed at Fort George on July 29th, and by August 8th, Drummond had brought the regiment up to the British camp before Fort Erie to take part in the siege and reduction of that place.

The Americans had found Fort Erie in very poor condition to withstand a determined British assault, but the failure of the besiegers to attack it immediately had allowed them time to convert the position into a strongly-fortified camp. They had constructed an earthwork from the fort to Snake Hill on the extreme left; in front of and reinforcing the earthwork was a strong abbatis which extended round the base of the hill to the edge of the Niagara River. An embrasure was built on the hill for Towson's battery of six guns; in this position the battery was elevated twenty feet above the approaches on the left flank and completely commanded them.[20] Drummond's misjudgment of the strength of the American position, especially on the left, contributed greatly to the ensuing fiasco.

---

[17] Both C. H. J. Snider, *In the Wake of the Eighteen-Twelvers* (London, 1913), 143, and F. Landon, *Bugles on the Border* (Watertown, N.Y., 1954), 57, state that the attacking forces of De Watteville's were clad in red tunics and white breeches. Atkinson, *op. cit.,* 319, describes the uniform as follows: "The regiment's original uniform was green, like those of the regiments out of which it was formed, the facings being black and the breeches light biue, but on new uniforms being issued the ordinary English red was substituted, with black facings and a black stripe in its white lace, the breeches being white. The men wore the ordinary shako. The Chasseur company seems to have retained its green uniform, 12 men of this company being armed with rifled carbines." However, the Light Company [i.e. Chasseurs] was one of those involved in the attack. Therefore, if Snider and Landon are correct it would appear that that company also had adopted the ordinary uniform of the British army by this time.

[18] "Secret Document: Arrangement for Collecting a Force at Burlington" in Wood, *op. cit.,* III (1), 129.

[19] Drummond to Prevost, July 15th, 1814, in *ibid.,* 131.

On August 14th, Drummond ordered preparations for the attack on the fort, to take place at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 15th. The main assault was to be made against the enemy's left by the Right Column commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer. Comprising this column were the King's Regiment, volunteers of the Regiment de Watteville, the Light Companies of the 89th and the 100th Regiments, a detachment of the Royal Artillery, and a picquet of cavalry. Captain Powell, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General, was to guide the column into position. The fort itself was to be attacked by a smaller Centre Column under Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, while Colonel Scott of the 103d Regiment was to lead the Left Column against the entrenchments on the American right. Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer received instructions to march his troops through the woods and to get into attacking position before dark. He was ordered to take every possible precaution against warning the enemy of his approach. To ensure secrecy, Lieutenant-General Drummond recommended that Fischer instruct all except one-third of his men to remove the flints from their firelocks. The success of the enterprise would depend entirely upon the element of surprise, upon the attacking force getting in close enough to decide the issue by bayonet.

In the American camp, however, a two-day artillery bombardment had warned General Gaines that an assault was impending. On the night of the 14th he ordered a third of his men to stand by their posts, and the remainder to sleep with their arms beside them. The fort was alert for any movement in the British lines.

The Right Column moved off through the woods at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and reached its attacking position in good time. The men waited in a light rain for the order to advance. Later the rain stopped, but when the command was given at 2 a.m. the sky was heavily overcast and the night pitch dark. The Forlorn Hope, consisting of a subdivision of the Light Company of the King's Regiment, led the advance. It was supported by the Light Company of De Watteville's. Next came the Light Company of the 100th Regiment, followed by the second subdivision of the King's Light Infantry. Behind them marched the Grenadiers of De Watteville's and the Light Company of the 89th Regiment, supported by the volunteers of De Watteville's (nearly the whole regiment) and the King's Regiment.

---

[20] L. L. Babcock, *The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1927), 181-2, and plan facing 181.

As the head of the column approached Snake Hill, it was heard by an American picquet. Firing three deliberate volleys as it slowly retreated to safety, the picquet warned the fort of approach of the British forces. Within a few minutes the whole camp was in arms and any hope of taking it by surprise had vanished. While the rattle of musketry and the cannonade from Towson's battery burst out and increased steadily in vigour, part of the Forlorn Hope and half of De Watteville's Light Company under Major de Villatte stumbled along the rough, stony surface of the lakeshore and outflanked the left of the abattis by wading through breast-deep water. Then, regaining the shore, they attacked the rear of the enemy position on Snake Hill only to find their charge met by the countercharge of two companies of Americans. After a brief but savage fight in which they received no support from the main column, the detachment was forced to retreat through the water, raked by enemy fire at every step. In this affair De Watteville's Light Company lost nearly half its number.

Meanwhile, the flank companies of the Right Column were trying to force their way through the abattis and the entrenchments to support the attack of the Forlorn Hope. Five times they charged the impenetrable position through the blast of Towson's guns, in the vain attempt to get close enough to use their bayonets. The ladders with which they were supposed to surmount the abattis proved too short. As charge after charge faltered without making the least impression upon the American defences the attackers gradually grew demoralized. Finally, unable to make any headway against enemy fire which they could not return, they broke and fled.

The supporting column, consisting of the volunteers of De Watteville's and the King's Regiment, had been led too close to the edge of the lake. In the darkness they had become entangled between the rocks along the shore and the water, and lost their formation. The galling fire from the enemy camp increased the confusion. Suddenly the remnants of the flank companies burst upon the De Watteville's in precipitous flight. Panic seized the troops and they rolled back, carrying the King's Regiment with them. Thus ended the assault as far as the Right Column was concerned. The Centre and Left Columns were equally unsuccessful, although the former for a short time managed to take one of the bastions of the fort. This effort was defeated when a magazine exploded, killing many of the British and driving the rest back in flight. Both commanders, Drummond and Scott, were killed in the assault.

Lieutenant-General Drummond blamed the defeat of the Right Column on the Regiment de Watteville. In a letter to Sir George Prevost on the day following the event, he wrote bitterly: "Thus by the misconduct of this foreign corps has the opportunity been totally lost for the present of striking such a blow at the enemy's force in this neighbourhood as would altogether prevent his appearing again in any force on the Niagara frontier, at least during the present campaign."[21] But Prevost was not so certain that the blame lay entirely with the regiment. He answered: "I view with pain the agony of mind you experience from the unfortunate termination of the night attack you had been induced to make on the 15th, and would gladly soothe your feelings on the occasion . . . but all I have heard since has confirmed my prejudice to highly important operations being performed in the dark. Too much was required from De Watteville's Regiment so situated and deprived, as I am told they were, of their flints. The attempt has proved a costly experiment, and its results will be severely felt."[22] In view of Prevost's own ignominious failure at Plattsburg, one might be inclined to suspect his military judgment. But the great authority on the British army, Sir J. W. Fortescue, in commenting on this operation supports Prevost's opinion regarding night attacks. He writes: "Night attacks upon fortified positions are in the last degree hazardous and uncertain, and this particular night attack was a disastrous failure."[23]

Thereafter the siege of Fort Erie dragged on, the tedium broken only by daily skirmishing between outposts. The British lines were manned by a single brigade, the other two brigades being held in reserve in the main camp two miles behind the lines, out of range of the American batteries. Each day the brigade on duty was changed. On September 17th, while the Second Brigade, composed of the Regiment de Watteville and the King's Regiment, was on duty, the Americans attempted to break the stalemate. During an afternoon storm, they struck the right and rear of the British line in a beautifully-executed flanking movement that took the De Watteville Regiment completely by surprise. At the same time, a column attacked the centre of the line, penetrated, and then turned to the left to pinch out a newly-constructed battery and to spike the guns. This accomplished, the whole force turned to the right, overrunning the left of the British lines and two more batteries. The British position was soon reestablished by reinforcements rushing up from the main camp, and the Americans were driven back to the fort. But the De Watteville's had lost a large number of men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, among them Lieutenant-Colonel Victor Fischer, who was severely wounded. The American sortie proved effective in the long run. The British army, now short of ammunition and supplies, and desperately in need of reinforcements, was soon afterwards forced to fall back to Chippewa.

For a period after the assault on Fort Erie, a spirit of disaffection was prevalent among the De Watteville troops and the rate of desertion rapidly increased. In some quarters it had been assumed from the beginning that because they were foreign mercenaries they would be less loyal to the British cause than were the troops of the British regiments. When General Armstrong wrote to General Wilkinson in September 1813 that "De Watteville's Regiment was made up in Spain, is composed of Poles, Germans, Spaniards and Portugies, and completely disaffected"[24] he seems to have been echoing a common report. However, the subsequent actions of the foreign troops had proven this assumption to be false. For example, when the flank companies captured in October 1813 were exchanged, the *Quebec Gazette* of June 30, 1814, reported: "It is worthy of remark that not a man of De Watteville's Regt. remained behind, notwithstanding the liberal offers made them by the enemy.—These brave and faithful fellows deserve well of the British nation." There is no doubt, however, that in late August and during September, morale was extremely low among the soldiers of De Watteville's. Probably the disgrace of being blamed for the failure of the attack on Fort Erie contributed to the temporary demoralization of the regiment.

---

[21] Drummond to Prevost, Aug. 16th, 1814, in Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, I (1814), 147.

[22] Prevost to Drummond, Aug. 26th, 1814, in *ibid.*, 175.

[23] Sir J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (13 vols., London, 1899-1930), X, 120.

With the retreat of the British army to Chippewa, the active service period of the Regiment de Watteville was ended. Shortly afterwards it was moved to the forts at the mouth of the Niagara River, then later, probably by Christmas, it was back in Kingston. Here it remained on garrison duty until its disbandment in 1816.

As early as July 1814, Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, mentioned to Prevost the British government's intention of granting land in Canada to the officers and men of De Watteville's after the cessation of hostilities. At that time it was proposed to settle them along the frontiers of Lower Canada most exposed to American attack.[25] There was reason to believe that the men of the regiment would make good settlers. Dr. William Dunlop, Assistant-Surgeon of the 89th Regiment, described as follows their self-reliance under frontier conditions: "These, though they had not the skill in the axe inherent in their brethren of the Militia, took down hemlock boughs (a species of the pine, "pinus canadensis,") and cutting off the tails of them, made thatched wigwams, perfectly weatherproof; and though they could not equal the Canadian Militia in woodcraft, they greatly excelled them in gastronomic lore; and thus, while our fellows had no better shift than to frizzle their rations of salt provisions on the ends of their ramrods, these being practical botanists, sent out one soldier from each mess, who gathered a haversack full of wild pot herbs, with which and a little flour their ration was converted into a capital soup."[26]

On May 13th, 1816, all officers of De Watteville's Regiment who had obtained leave of absence to go to Europe and had not yet departed, were ordered to rejoin the regiment.[27] Then on May 18th, the Deputy-Adjutant-

---

[24] Armstrong to Wilkinson, Sept. 18th, 1813, in Cruikshank, *op. .cit.*, I, 141.

[25] Bathurst to Prevost, July 12th, 1814, in Wood, *op. cit.*, III (2) 784.

[26] W. Dunlop, *Recollections of the American War, 1812-14* (Toronto, 1905), 61.

[27] General Order No. 7, Quebec, May 13th, 1816, in *Garrison Book, Montreal,* 309. (Ms. Order Book, covering the period 15th May, 1815, to 24th August, 1816, in the Library of the Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston).

General's Office issued a General Order outlining a scheme for the reduction and discharge of the officers and men of De Watteville's and other regiments who wished to settle in Canada.[28] They were to receive two months' advance of pay upon discharge and were then to be forwarded either to the settlement on the Rideau or to that on the St. Francis River, as they desired. At these places, the Superintendent of Settlement would issue them location tickets giving the date the land location was granted, and the township, concession and number of lot. The lands were to be granted under the conditions specified in G.O. 7th June, 1815, which stated that the grantee should immediately settle them and that the lands could not be alienated or disposed of until he should have resided upon and cultivated a reasonable proportion of them for the term of three years. The allotments were to be made according to the following schedule:

Lieutenant Colonel	1,200 acres
Major	1,000
Captain	800
Subaltern	500
Serjeant Major and Quarter Master Serjeant	300
Serjeant	200
Privates	100

Those of the Regiment de Watteville who did not wish to remain in Canada were to be sent to Montreal and to leave for Europe as soon as transport could be provided.

Although the part of the regiment that remained in Canada did not receive its discharge until July 26th, 1816,[29] the men were released gradually during June and July in order to seek their land. Acting on his own initiative, Major-General de Watteville, Officer Commanding at Kingston, authorized the Commissariat Department to advance money to the regimental paymaster so that the men might be paid off and released to begin clearing the land at the most important season of the year.[30] The total sum of £805, 11s, 7½d was advanced for rations and two months' pay to "Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers, & Privates of the Regiment de Watteville, who are to receive their Discharges in Canada."[31] Most of the disbanded soldiers went to the Rideau Settlement of Perth, one of three military settlements intended to open up and protect the Rideau-Ottawa route as an alternative to the St. Lawrence River in the event of future American invasion.

Louis de Watteville's efforts to settle his men as early as possible in the summer of 1816 were in vain. When the disbanded soldiers arrived at the Perth Settlement in June they were dismayed to find that not enough land had been surveyed to accommodate them all immediately. The delay had arisen from the surveyor's working independently of the Superintendent of Settlement and from the lack of a coordinated plan of survey. Writing to Captain Fowler, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General, from Perth on June 18th, 1816, Superintendent Alexander McDonnell reported; "I found myself placed in a most unpleasant predicament from not having in my power to place the men from the Regiment de Watteville on their lands—All that had been surveyed in Township No. 1 has been located on the 13th instant."

---

[28] General Order, Quebec, May 18th, 1816, in *ibid.*, 311-4.
[29] Malchelosse, *op. cit.*, 271.
[30] Public Archives of Canada, C 622, 20-21.
[31] *Ibid.*, C 715, 217.

Questioning the surveyor, Captain Reuben Sherwood, the Superintendent discovered that he had wasted time surveying Township No. 2 where the land was very wet and unfit for settlement. McDonnell continued: "Had the time which has been employed in the survey of this township been devoted to No. 1 the whole of the de Wattevilles might have been placed on their lands, and you will in consequence on your arrival here find yourself at a loss where to place the located men . . . I must apprise you that the spirit of enterprise which appeared to actuate the de Wattevilles on their first arrival, has evaporated in consequence of their not being placed on their lands, and that some have already quitted the settlement, and others have notified their intention of following their example."[32]

The situation was very critical indeed, and when he learned of it, Major-General John Wilson, Officer Commanding the Forces in Canada, wrote immediately to Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, asking that ten, or if possible, fifteen surveyors be sent at once to the Perth Settlement to survey land for the De Watteville and other regiments.[33] His intervention was too late, however, to forestall the movement away from the settlement. By the time land had been made available for all, many of the disbanded soldiers had drifted away to seek their fortunes elsewhere. During this period, for example, twenty of the De Watteville's enlisted under Lord Selkirk and went with him to the Red River Valley in Rupert's Land.[34] The exact number of men of the regiment who finally settled in the Perth area is difficult to ascertain, although a list compiled from the commencement of the settlement to the 31st December, 1818, shows that more than 150 had been located there (See Appendix I). A number of these were granted land patents during the 1820's, especially in the townships of Bathurst and North Burgess (See Appendix II).

In the years that followed the initial settlement, the existence of the disbanded members of the regiment becomes almost indistinguishable from that of the other settlers whose hardships and privations they shared. In the writings of the Reverend William Bell[35] who came to Perth from Leith, Scotland, in 1817 one occasionally catches a glimpse of the De Watteville's and learns something of their unique problems. Thus writing to Sir Peregrine Maitland from Perth on 29th April, 1818, Bell related that the previous year, the Reverend Mr. McDonnell, the Roman Catholic priest in Glengarry, had gone to England and had obtained the appointment of four Roman Catholic teachers with salaries from the government. He went on to complain, "One of these [a Mr. Murdoch] has been sent here, and instead of living among the discharged soldiers of the De Watteville regiment, almost the only Catholics in this settlement, has begun teaching in Perth, the only place, within 30 miles, already supplied with a school."[36]

---

[32] *Ibid.*, C 622, 60-61.

[33] G. F. Playter, "An Account of the Founding of Three Military Settlements in Eastern Ontario — Perth, Lanark and Richmond, 1815-20", Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records*, XX (1923), 101.

[34] J. P. Pritchett, *The Red River Valley, 1811-1849* (New Haven, 1942), 181-3.

Not only in educational, but also in religious matters, were the members of the regiment badly served in the Perth Settlement, and here Mr. Bell at times was able to fill a need. In July 1823, he managed to procure some German testaments and French Bibles from Kingston, and these he distributed among the discharged soldiers. He commented, "Most of them received the books with joy and some kissed them and put them in their bosom."[37] Also in his capacity as minister, he signed certificates to enable them to receive money owing them from the government. In 1820 he wrote: "Most of them had prize money or pensions to receive, and all of these, as long as there was no other minister in the place, had to get certificates signed by me, that they were still alive, and residing in the settlement. Though this caused me many interruptions, yet it afforded me much pleasure to assist them in obtaining what they so much needed, to help them forward with their improvements."[38]

Among the Reverend Mr. Bell's congregation was Mr. Louis Rendt, lieutenant (retired) of the De Watteville's. In 1825, Mr. Bell went to Mr. Rendt's farm to officiate at his daughter's wedding. Rendt had lost his half-pay by some mismanagement and as Mr. Bell describes him, "His ragged coat and bare toes bore ample testimony to the limited nature of his finances, while the dilapidated buildings which now freely admitted the wind and rain, showed that he had seen better days." Despite the man's poverty-stricken circumstances, the minister was impressed by his hospitality, and commented favourably on the number of fowl consumed at the wedding breakfast.[39] Rendt appears to have been a man of recurring misfortune. On January 19, 1814, the house in which he had resided in Montreal caught fire through the negligence of servants and Lieutenant Rendt had lost all his family belongings and money, as well as two-thirds of his personal baggage.[40]

---

[35] *Life of William Bell written by himself* (15 vols., Ms. Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston).

[36] *Ibid.*, II, 239.

[37] *Ibid.*, III, 3.

[38] *Ibid.*, II, 308.

[39] *Ibid*, IV, 114-5.

[40] P. A. C. C 715, 41. Louis Rendt's Memorial to Sir George Prevost, June 1st, 1814.

This is the last reference that Mr. Bell made to the regiment or any member thereof. After this period the annals of the regiment fade into obscurity. If any of the disbanded soldiers remained in the Perth Settlement, none became sufficiently prominent to make a lasting impression on the community. So little impact did they make, in fact, that a century later the centenary edition of the *Perth Courier*, dated August 3d, 1934, found it difficult to explain their apparent disappearance from the community. It conjectured vaguely that most of them had gone to the United States and joined the American regular army. It is evident that during the intervening century, the Regiment de Watteville had entered the limbo of lost traditions, its memory perpetuated only by a street name and a memorial plaque in the community park at Perth.

APPENDIX I.[41]

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF DISBANDED SOLDIERS OF THE REGIMENT DE WATTEVILLE LOCATED FOR LANDS AT THE RIDEAU SETTLEMENT, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1818.

Adam, Ernest
Adam, Peter
Allman, John
Andreas, Peter
Anffreis, Jean
Angst, Andreas
Bachman, Jacob
Bachman, Rudolph
Ballinger, Jacob
Barko, Pierre
Bauer, Antoine
Becker, John
Becker, Phillip
Beik, Jean, Serjt.
Bellenu, Jean
Bidson, Joseph
Bombacher, Clement
Bontzy, Frantz
Brawn, Leonhard
Bretner, George
Brickler, Anton
Bromasky, Thomas
Brondel, Ferdinand
Burokowitz, Michael
Carl, Jean, Serjt.
Castlegeand, Vincent
Cipel, Joseph
Corbeija, Joseph, Surgeon
Dairsh, George
De Bersey, Amedée Rodolphe, Lieut.
Dester, Alexander
Ditrol, Frederick
Dollar, Charles
Dresenstein, Jean
Duibisson, Pierre
Effinger, Joseph
Eggar, Laurent
Eppert, Frederick
Espacher, Frederick
Estavin, Roquetta
Etterley, Oswald
Fanell, Jean
Fermase, Antoine
Ferenz, Jacob
Fidler, Samuel
Fisher, Solomon
Flischner, Jn.
Fry, George
George, Anton
Giacofsky, Jean
Glaidore, Mathew
Graff, Henry
Graff, Jean, Corpl.
Grossman, Jakob
Haizer, George
Hartzell, George
Hedwig, Joseph
Hego, Paul
Heinneman, Andre
Heoffschmit, George
Hildebrund, Jacob
Hiller, John
Hoblitul, Jacob
Holliger, Jacob, Serjt.
Hownicker, Henry
Huber, Anton
Jaworskey, Joseph
Kaas, Pierre
Keimer, Henry
Kirchman, Jacob
Knisal, Joseph
Knoser, Frederick
Kremer, Charles, Serjt.
Kremer, Jean
Kremer, Louis
Krenison, Joseph, Serjt.
Kunder, Martin
Kupper, Henry
La Mothe, Pierre J., Chaplain
Lassota, Waidzuck
Lechman, Christian
Lentz, Charles
Lentz, Jean
Lenwalder, John, Serjt.
Machiefsky, Jean
Marquis, Frederick
Meiklov, Jean
Menzy, John, Serjt.
Meyher, Jacob
Michaluck, Andrew
Michell, Rièal
Miller, Jean
Morger, Charles
Muller, Jacob
Myer, Meynard, Corpl.
Newhold, Leopold
Nimizick, John
Oncker, Andreas
Osamo, Charles D. M.
Oswald, Mathias
Paulish, Johan
Paulish, Peter
Peritch, Joseph
Pfister, Joseph
Rasp, Johan
Reiss, Caspar
Richard, Johan
Riehner, Martin
Ringwalder, George

---

[41] Extracted from Ms. in Ontario Archives, *Perth Land Settlement, 1822*, "Alphabetical List of Emigrants and Discharged Soldiers Located for Lands at the Rideau Settlement, under the Superintendence of Alexr. Macdonnell Esquire, Capt. George Fowler, Dy. Asst.-Q.M. General and Secy. & Storekeeper Daniel Daverne Esquire, from the Commencement to the 31st December 1818".

Rodrigo, Diegos
Rogofsky, Michael
Rouche, Charles, Serjt.
Ruman, Frantz
Sanders, Christn
Sayer, Louis
Schmit, Gerrard
Senis, Johan
Shreik, Martin
Speigle, Caspar
Steiger, J. F. Rodolphe, Capt.
Stein, Anton
Steller, Andreas
Stelzer, Godfred
Stephenat, Paul, Qr. M. Serjt.
Stoller, Johan
Stolzhaur, John, Corpl.
Storg, Joseph
Straub, Jacob, Serjt.
Stropzinksy, Joseph
Surdiskey, Joseph
Taink, Franz
Tback, Huronimas
Tebus, George
Thule, Anton
Tomeau, Anselm
Tormiller, Jacob, Serjt.
Tunns, Levre
Verico, John
Verring, John
Vogt, Franz
Waiskhom, Gotlieb
Waschter, John
Webber, Jean, Corpl.
Webber, Nichs
Welver, Johan, Serjt.
Wentz, Phillip, Corpl.
Westadick, Franz
Wilhelm, Valentino
Witzall, Joseph
Young, George
Zimmerman, John
Zuroff, Nichs

APPENDIX II.[42]

LIST OF DISBANDED SOLDIERS OF THE REGIMENT DE WATTEVILLE WHO RECEIVED LAND PATENTS IN LANARK COUNTY.

BATHURST TOWNSHIP

Name	Concession	Lot	Acreage	Name	Concession	Lot	Acreage
Rasp, John	1	6	100	Witzall, Joseph	3	11	100
Rasp, John	1	6	100	Rendt, Louis	3	11	100
Menzy, John	1	7	100	Leichman, Christian	3	12	100
Kunder, Martin	2	6	100	Speigle, Caspar	3	13	100
George, Anton	2	6	100	Myer, Meynard	3	15	100
Rendt, Louis	2	7	200	Schmit, Gerrard	3	15	100
Becker, John	2	9	100	Lentz, Jean	3	16	100
Ferenz, Jacob	2	11	100	Carl, Jean	4	18	100
Westadick, Frantz	2	12	100	Lenwalder, John	4	18	100
Corbeija, Joseph	2	13	100	Stephemet, Paul	4	19	100
Newhold, Leopold	3	5	100	Grossman, Jacob	5	19	100
Steller, Andreas	3	6	100	Menzy, John	6	19	100
Corbeija, Joseph	3	10	200	Sayer, Louis	7	22	100

BURGESS NORTH TOWNSHIP

Stoller, John	8	12	100	Kupper, Henry	8	16	100
Speigle, Caspar	8	13	100	Michaluck, Andrew	9	3	100
Bachman, Rudolph	8	14	100	Straub, Jacob	9	5	200
Bachman, Rudolph	8	14	100	Haizer, George	9	6	100
Angst, Andreas	8	16	100	Stelzer, Godfred	9	7	100
Effinger, Jacob	9	8	100				

DRUMMOND TOWNSHIP

Corbeija, Joseph	7	1	100	Dester, Alexander	7	1	100

---

[42] Extracted from Ms. in Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, Patents Office, *Register of Land Patents, Vol. 1. B., County of Lanark.*

A REMINDER

Annual members are reminded that at the commencement of the present year their subscriptions became due for Volume 52 of *Ontario History*, of which this is the first number. The usual notices have been mailed to members. We thank those whose subscriptions have already been received and urge all others to send their fees for 1960 as soon as possible to The Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

THE LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC SOCIETY OF UPPER CANADA AND ITS STILL-BORN CHILD— THE "UPPER CANADA PRESERVED" MEDAL*

By Hamilton Craig

The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada was organized in the early months of the War of 1812 for the dual purposes of relieving wartime distress and commemorating conspicuous bravery. The first of the two objectives was fully achieved: ample funds were raised to meet basic requirements and administered with devotion and intelligence. But the second purpose was hopelessly thwarted and failure attended the Society's efforts. True, medals to signalize distinguished service were struck—and in an impressive design bearing the legend, UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. But, as far as can be discovered, they were never issued. Locked away for years in secret repositories, they remained to tantalize the hopes of the many aspirants to an award. Hopes deferred bred rancor and controversy. For decade after decade, the mocking medals were a focus of mystery, misunderstanding, innuendo and accusation.

In 1817 the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada issued a comprehensive report of its operations to date, including lists of subscriptions and benefactions, the latter in such detail that the circumstances justifying the grant were recited in each instance. Not included in the report, however, were the activities of certain branches, (notably in Kingston and London) where funds were raised and disbursed locally.

According to the opening pages of the report,[1] the Society originated in the following manner:

> Utterly unprepared for war, the Militia of the Province was suddenly called to the frontier to oppose invasion. It had neither arms nor cloathing. The first attention of their gallant leader, after arming them at the expence of the enemy . . . was to provide cloathing suitable to the severity of the then approaching season. From some causes not explained, the actual relief was so long delayed, that individual sympathy was excited, and the inhabitants of York, by a private subscription, aided by the personal labour of the young ladies of the

---

* The writer desires to express his gratitude to the librarians of the Royal Canadian Military Institute, the Toronto Public Libraries Reference Division, the University of Toronto Library, and the American Numismatic Association, to Dr. George W. Spragge and his staff at the Archives of the Province of Ontario, and to Mr. Fred Bowman, F.R.N.S., for their assistance to his researches. He wishes to thank the heiresses of the late Dr. Charles Kirk Clarke, Mr. J. H. Collins, and the Ryerson Press for permission to quote from *A History of the Toronto General Hospital;* the Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, for authority to quote from *Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954* by Professor George Stanley; and Messrs. Spink and Son, Limited, of London, for permission to quote from their numismatic circulars.

[1] The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, *Report, With an Appendix and a List of Subscribers and Benefactors* (Montreal, 1817), 3. [Hereafter referred to as *Report, 1817]*. There were in fact nine appendices. The Rev. John Strachan attributed the origin of the Society to the suggestion of a Miss Selby, daughter of the Receiver-General of Upper Canada, 1808-13.

> place, afforded a supply of the first necessity, in flannel shirts, to the companies doing duty on the lines between Niagara and Fort Erie.

The delay in providing clothing perhaps bore some relationship to the attitude of the Upper Canadian legislature towards the war, for "the provincial legislature was only lukewarm in support of Brock's defence measures. There was, indeed, active opposition from those members whose sympathies were with the American republic . . . ."[2] Remedying a shortage of clothing soon ceased to be the Society's chief concern. Before long its principal functions became threefold: to provide "aid and relief" to families losing a breadwinner by death, wounds or prolonged absence; to help men wounded during military service; and to bestow medals upon such persons as might render in the field conspicuous service to His Majesty.

In carrying out these objectives the Society received substantial donations from subscribers within the colony and outside it. By October 17, 1817, its receipts had amounted to £13,841 (Halifax currency), derived as follows: Upper Canada £1,538, Montreal £3,227, Quebec City £2,724, England £3,333, Jamaica £1,419, General Sir Gordon Drummond £680 and Interest Earned £920.[3] The contribution from Jamaica included fifty puncheons of rum, much tobacco and many doubloons. The Report also refers to a gift, separately administered, of £2,500 from the Legislature of Nova Scotia.[4] In 1819—two years after publication of the Report—another £4,000 was received from London.

The bylaws of the Society gave every subscriber of one pound or more annually the right to vote and the privilege of recommending objects of the Society's bounty. All general and field officers of the army were honorary members. Directors were to *consist* of judges, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, members of the Legislative and the Executive Councils, and every other person contributing ten pounds or more per annum. The original bylaws also included as Directors "all clergymen of the Established Church" but in 1813 this was amended to read "all regular clergymen". It was also provided that "aid and relief" should be withheld from "the disloyal". The special place among the Society's

---

[2] George F. G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954* (Toronto, 1954), 148-49.

[3] This analysis of the sources of subscriptions has been prepared by the writer and differs from that shown in ***Report, 1817.***

[4] J. S. Martell "Nova Scotia's Contribution to the Canadian Relief Fund in the war of 1812" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXIII (3), September 1942), 297-302. "In view of 'the distresses of their fellow Subjects' in many parts of Upper Canada, the Nova Scotian Assembly in March 1814, voted the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds towards their relief . . . As Nova Scotia's ordinary revenue had been less than £26,000 in 1813, this amount was not inconsiderable. Nevertheless, the province could well afford the gift out of the money raised for war purposes and but partially spent" (297). The report of the committee in charge of distributing the Nova Scotia bounty was signed by Thomas Scott, William Dummer Powell and Rev. John Strachan on June 28, 1815 at Stamford, U.C. The gift was used to pay partial compensation to owners of property at Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake) which had been burned by retreating American forces in 1813. In all the owners of houses valued at £14,045 (out of the 98 houses valued at £36,570 destroyed) were thus aided (Ibid., 300).

Directors assigned to the most eminent of the Province's appointed officials doubtless was intended to prevent any possibility of treason in the citadel. But this liberality, contrasted with the exclusion of the entire Legislative Assembly apart from the Speaker, would afterwards contribute to the public resentment against the clannishness of the Family Compact and such planetary bodies as the Society.

Early in the summer of 1813 American forces occupied York and the chief officers of the provincial administration left along with, or before, the defending force withdrew from the capital. The Military Hospital at York was left without "a Surgeon, a Commissary or a Medical Store". Though there was no quorum of Directors, both the President and Vice President being absent from the city, the Society advanced the sum of £253/4/9, New York currency [sic] for the use of the Hospital, an expenditure which was afterwards validated at a regular meeting of the Society. During the same period, the Rev. Dr. Strachan allowed his church to be used as an emergency hospital.[5]

Originally the bylaws provided that subscriptions of a contractual amount were to be payable annually but funds became "so augmented as to induce . . . the . . . Directors to forbear any further call on the annual subscribers until the monies actually on hand should be nearly exhausted."[6]

The fighting had ended by January 1815 and during the ensuing three years the Society devoted its efforts to relieving the wounded and assisting those whom war had reduced to indigence. In this programme the £8,000 remaining on hand at the close of hostilities was largely expended. Not a penny had been charged by Directors or officers of the Society for their services, even though the investigation of claims involved travelling what were then long distances. On October 17, 1817, the Society closed its books, with a balance of £445 on hand in cash, and issued its report. Of the cash balance, £218 was disbursed for the printing of the report and, after writing off an Army Bill which had been mislaid until the time for redemption had passed, the residue—£212—was donated to a charitable institution formed "for the relief of strangers in distress."[7]

But the Society's purpose was not only to provide "aid and relief"; it was also to bestow medals upon the brave: "To reward merit, excite emulation, and commemorate glorious exploits . . . for extraordinary instances of . . . fidelity in the defence of the Province by individuals, either of His Majesty's regular or Militia forces, and also the seamen on the lakes."[8]

---

[5] *The Right Reverend John Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834* (Mss. in Ontario Archives). On August 9, 1813 Strachan wrote Dr. Thom that another place having been found for public devotion "which is on no account to be omitted" the church would be at the service of the wounded.

[6] *Report, 1817*, 4.

[7] Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, *Explanation of Proceedings* (Toronto, 1841), 5-6. [Hereafter referred to as *Explanation, 1841].*

The specification for the medal prescribed by the Directors in January 1813 was less than sufficiently precise:

> Two inches and one half in diameter. In a circle formed by a wreath of laurel, the words FOR MERIT. Legend, PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY. On the reverse. A streight between two lakes, on the north side a Beaver, (emblem of peaceful industry) the ancient armorial bearing of Canada. In the background an English lion slumbering. On the south side the streight, the American eagle planeing in the air, as if checked from seizing the Beaver by the presence of the Lion. Legend, UPPER CANADA PRESERVED.[9]

The words "north" and "south" are ambiguous, since they do not explain whether the observer should be assumed to be looking downstream or upstream. The military convention assumes an observer looking downstream and dictionaries conform to the convention. Not all individuals have done so; certain numismatists have argued that the observer should, in North America, be assumed to be an explorer and therefore looking upstream.

With this specification decided upon, the Directors on January 12, 1813 voted to order 200 medals in silver[10] and on the 24th of the same month £100 sterling was paid to Chief Justice Thomas Scott to effect the purchase.[11] Elsewhere, however, the 1817 Report records that the £100 was intended "to procure as many medals of silver as it could afford".[12] At a Directors' Meeting on December 2, 1814, it was reported that fifty medals had been received—presumably all that £100 "could afford". This batch apparently had been received from Lieutenant-Governor Gore, then in England.[13] Furthermore, these seem to have been the medals of which it was remarked:

> Medals were received but did not correspond in execution with the design of the device, they have not been distributed. At the close of the last campaign, the President was requested to procure a report of meritorious subjects, and his honor was pleased to transmit lists from officers commanding corps of Militia. The view of the Directors so little corresponded in the varied principles of these reports, that a committee was appointed to report fit subjects for this mark of public gratitude. Upon the report of that committee, a further sum of one thousand pounds sterling was placed at the disposal of the Treasurer, to procure more medals of a different quality, but upon the same device, which is consigned in this report.[14]

Clearly, the reason the medals "did not correspond with the design of the device" was that the medallist had been governed by the convention regarding an observer being supposed to be looking downstream, while the Directors preferred the contrary view. The view of the Directors was implemented at a General Meeting, "holden in the Church at York" on Monday, May 1, 1815, when it was:

---

[8] *Report, 1817,* 376.
[9] *Ibid.,* 10.
[10] *Ibid.,* 18.
[11] *Ibid.,* 196.
[12] *Ibid.,* 9.
[13] *Ibid.,* 148-49.
[14] *Ibid.,* 9.

> RESOLVED, that the medals received from Lieut.-Gov. Gore be reserved for non-commissioned officers, and to order five hundred medals of inferior size for privates, that fifty gold Medals be ordered for the present, for General and Field Officers, of the value of three guineas each . . . . Twelve large medals of the value of five guineas each were also ordered and to cover the expence of all the Medals, one thousand pounds sterling was appropriated.[15]

But though £1,000 sterling had been "appropriated" to cover the "expence of all the Medals", the sum actually disbursed for the second order of medals was only £750 sterling, the amount paid on August 26, 1815 to "John Robinson, Esqr., Solicitor General, to purchase medals".[16] Thus the total involved in the two orders for medals was £850 sterling, equivalent to £944/8/10½ in Halifax currency, or, at four dollars to the Halifax £, to $3,777.78 in United States currency. In all, the Society must have received 62 gold medals and 550 silver medals of two varieties. The first variety of the silver piece is fairly common but the second is scarce. No gold medal has been reported to be extant. Both varieties in silver are two inches in diameter. The medallist must have substituted a two-inch piece for the two-and-one-half inches prescribed for the first order and afterwards disregarded the demand for an "inferior size" for the second order of medals. The three-guinea and five-guinea gold medals must have been smaller than two inches across.

The vexing problem of deciding to whom medals should be awarded remained to be solved. The lists of prospective recipients which "his honor was pleased to transmit" from "officers commanding corps of militia" have not descended to posterity, but the numbers of "meritorious subjects" recommended must have appeared formidable. In 1817, at the time of issuing the Report, the Directors were no nearer a solution than they had been in 1815. There were only so many pieces available and money to purchase more was lacking. The number of "subjects" recommended greatly exceeded the number of medals on hand. Perhaps the liberality of the officers' recommendations reflected a democratic desire to effect a fairly general distribution; perhaps it even represented "une politique du pire"—a gambit, with political motive, to make the Society's role of issuer an impossible one.

In 1819 a further donation of £4,000 arrived from England and, with the consent of the London and Montreal Committees, the whole sum was granted to the institution known today as the Toronto General Hospital.

---

[15] *Ibid.*, 9, also 166-67.

[16] *Ibid.*, 217-18. The Solicitor-General, of course, was John Beverley Robinson, then 24 years of age.

That donation is gratefully acknowledged in the initial and final chapters of Charles Kirk Clarke's famous History of the Hospital.[17]

At a general meeting on February 22, 1820,[18] it was resolved that all medals on hand should be disposed of as bullion, not only because the number of medals was insufficient to meet the awards recommended but also in the light of an increasingly-prevalent opinion that the sovereign alone had the privilege of commemorating distinguished military service. However, the Directors procrastinated and the medals remained unsold. They were known to be in existence and this knowledge added to growing resentment directed against the officers of the Loyal and Patriotic Society. Years came and went, years marked by political unrest, by a growing demand for a government responsible to the people, and by a growing clamour against the Family Compact whose members had been the leading lights in the Society. In consequence, questions with decidedly political overtones continued to be asked about the present whereabouts and future disposition of the medals. At long last, in 1840 the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada appointed a Committee "On the Proceedings of the Loyal and Patriotic Society In Relation To Certain Medals" and turned to surviving officers of the Society to give testimony.[19]

The inquiry was initiated on January 24, 1840, by a motion in the House of Assembly by Mr. Thorburn, seconded by Mr. Chisholm of Halton, that:

> . . . . there is reason to believe that after the war with the United States of America, certain contributions of money were raised and collected from subjects of Her Majesty resident in Great Britain and the colonies, who formed themselves into a Society under the name of the 'Patriotic Society', from which contributions, so raised and collected, certain medals of gold and silver were procured; that such medals, together with the residue of the amount so contributed, were sent to this country to be distributed among the brave and deserving militia-men who had nobly defended it during said war:—that it is expedient that an inquiry into the circumstances thus stated should be instituted; and that Messrs McDonell of Glengarry, McDonell of Stormont, McMicking and Woodruff, be a committee for that purpose, who shall have power to send for persons and papers, and report to this House; and that the thirty-first rule of this House be dispensed with as far as regards this Motion. Which was carried and ordered.[20]

---

[17] Charles Kirk Clarke, *A History of the Toronto General Hospital* (Toronto, 1913). Dr. Clarke was a specialist in psychiatry, mental hygiene and psychology, who began his practice in Toronto and after serving in hospitals for the insane elsewhere in Ontario returned to Toronto in 1905. He was Superintendent of the Toronto General Hospital from 1911 to 1918 and at the time of his death in his 68th year (January 20, 1924) was Medical Director for the Canadian National Committee for Mental Health. In 1923 he delivered the Maudsley Lecture in London, the first physician practicing outside the United Kingdom to be so honoured.

[18] *Explanation, 1841,* 13-14.

[19] Upper Canada: House of Assembly, *Journals, 1840,* Parts 1 and 11 and Appendix, Parts 1 and 11.

[20] *Journal of the Assembly, 1840,* Part 1, 230 (January 24, 1840). The thirty-first rule apparently concerned the customary Notice of Motion.

Mr. Alexander Wood, Secretary of the Society, and Mr. Ridout, the Cashier of the Bank of Upper Canada, were examined on January 27, 1840:

> MR. WOOD called in and examined.
>
> Says, that he was the Secretary of the Patriotic Society and that the Society was altogether a private matter, that the funds were distributed for the purposes for which the Society was formed, that money was sent from the Society to purchase medals in England, but is unable to say why the Medals were not distributed. The Society was wound up in October 1817, at which time there remained a balance of £435/2s./1½d. Currency, which was left in the hands of the Treasurer Doctor Strachan. Mr. Wood has no knowledge of what has been done by the Society since 1817—cannot assign any reason why the Medals have not been distributed—recollects that circular letters were sent to the different Commanding Officers of the Militia, to be informed by them of deserving Militiamen to whom Medals should be given. Mr. Wood handed to the Committee a book containing a full report of the operations of the Society to the 17th October 1817, at which time there remained in the hands of the Treasurer the aforementioned amount. Mr. Wood promised to ascertain from the surviving members of the Committee their opinion on the subject, and inform the Chairman of the result.
>
> MR. RIDOUT called in and examined.
>
> Says, that a Box was delivered to him by a person apparently a servant, in the fall of the year 1822, that he had been previously told by Mr. Allan it would be sent, and that it contained Medals of different descriptions of metal, and of different impressions. He understood from Mr. Allan that they were for distribution to Militia-men who had distinguished themselves during the late war with the United States; there was a key with the box, no application has ever been made by any one for them. The Box, he thinks, may be 2½ feet in length by from 14 to 18 inches wide, and in height about 18 inches—has been told the Medals cost £1,000.[21]
>
> *February 3rd.—The Committee met . . . .*
>
> The Speaker handed to the Committee a note, received from Alexander Wood, Esq. . . . by which it would appear that Mr. Wood is not in possession of any papers or information of the proceedings of the Society, more than the printed book which he handed in to the Committee on 27th January last. That he has conferred with the Hon'ble, the Bishop of Toronto, Colonel Allan, and Mr. Crookshank, who were Directors of the Society, all of whom were of opinion that the House of Assembly had nothing to do with the Society, as it was wholly of a private nature.
>
> Peter Shaver, Esq., M.P.P. who is a Director of the Society by the amount of his subscription, appeared before the Committee, and expressed himself desirous that the investigation into the affairs of the said Society should proceed.[22]

On February 8, 1840, the Committee examined Hon. William Allan, President of the Bank of Upper Canada, Hon. George Crookshank, and Right Reverend John Strachan, Anglican bishop, all three being Directors of the Loyal and Patriotic Society.

---

[21] *Ibid.*, Appendix, Part 1, 36. Wood's statement that the Society's balance in 1817 amounted to £435 appears to have been too low by £10 exactly, possibly indicative of a misprint in the Committee's report.

[22] *Ibid.*, Appendix, Part 1, 37.

Mr. Allan testified that to the best of his recollection, the medals had not been distributed because the Society was unable to obtain a satisfactory list of candidates for award and that he did not know the whereabouts of the original lists of recommendations. He reported that, besides the medals held by the Bank of Upper Canada, as an executor of the estate of Chief Justice Thomas Scott, he was in possession of another box of medals. He was not aware of any medals having been disposed of at any time and would be in favour of selling them for the benefit of the General Hospital, an opinion in which Mr. Crookshank concurred.

Bishop Strachan, in response to questions, explained that as Treasurer his records consisted chiefly of accounts and vouchers and after the audit it was not thought of consequence to keep them. As to the reason why the medals had not been distributed, this had been "found impossible from the extraordinary lists sent in by the Commanding Officers". He too agreed that, in accordance with the Society's Resolution of 1820, the medals should be sold for the benefit of the Hospital.[23]

On January 30, 1840, the Hon. William Allan proferred additional information in the form of a copy of a letter on the subject which he had written on December 17, 1831, apparently in reply to an inquiry from the Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor:

> I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th. instant, addressed to me by order of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, enclosing one, from Col. Coffin, Adjutant General of Militia, under date of 7th. inst., which I herewith return. I cannot take it upon me to give the information His Excellency desires as to the description of medals lodged in the Bank; as respects a chest or box which I find, on reference to the cashier, was sent there by the Hon. Archdeacon Strachan in the winter of 1823 or 1824, on his departure from hence to England, which I believe he had some time previous to that taken charge of, from the late Mr. Chief Justice Scott, who was President of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, and who had also in his possession, at the time of his death, in 1824, another small box, said to contain medals, and addressed to him as President—this box being found to be in his possession by me in October 1825, on my return from England, I, as one of the executors to his estate, took charge of it.—I have no knowledge of its contents, it never having been opened by me; nor do I know anything of the contents of the box sent by Dr. Strachan: with respect to the "Loyal and Patriotic Society" still being responsible for the distribution, I cannot say: I perfectly recollect the cause assigned formerly for those medals not being distributed soon after they came to hand, which must have been in 1818—I think it was found to be too late, as no previous means had been taken to ascertain who were the persons most entitled to receive them; and the difficulty that appeared to occur in making a distribution at that late period, without causing much jealousy and discontent were, as far as I know, the reasons, it was not done, and I presume accounts for their being now on hand.[24]

On February 8, 1840, the Select Committee presented their report to the House of Assembly and offered three Resolutions for adoption by the House.[25] Besides the evidence referred to above, the Report also included such extracts from the Society's 1817 Report as the Society's Constitution,[26] the Introduction to the Society's main Report,[27] the Report of the Directors,[28] the text of a request, dated May 18, 1813 and addressed to the Adjutant General, for a list of officers commanding militia units, and of the Adjutant General's reply,[29] Minutes of a General Meeting on May 1st, 1815,[30] and the correspondence relating to the £4,000 donated to the York General Hospital.[31]

---

[23] *Ibid.,* Appendix, Part 1, 37-40.

[24] *Ibid.,* Journal, Part 1, 522-23. See also Clarke, *op. cit.,* 138-39.

In their Report, the Select Committee took issue with the Society's failure to distribute the medals and with the proposal of its Directors that they be sold for the benefit of the General Hospital:

> Your Committee desired Mr. Wood to inform himself whether it was the intention of the Society to carry out the objects for which it was formed, and to acquaint your Committee with the results of his inquiry on some subsequent day. Mr. Wood has since informed your Committee, that the Society does not consider the House of Assembly has anything to do with its operations, being wholly of a private nature . . . .
>
> As respects the opinion given your Committee by Mr. Wood, that your Honorable House has nothing to do with the operation of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, your Committee cannot concur in that opinion, inasmuch as the object of the contributors was of a public nature, for the special benefit of giving relief to those distressed inhabitants of the Province, who were suffering from the operations of war with a relentless enemy, and to bestow marks of distinction on meritorious individuals who had distinguished themselves in the defence of the Province. Your Committee find that the funds were given by the donors for that special purpose and no other . . . .
>
> Your Committee in thus placing before your Honorable House the form of their proceedings, and in endeavouring to obtain correct information upon the matters connected with the Society whose operations affected the interests of a portion of the inhabitants of this Province, whose condition called forth such demonstrations of sympathy—deem it just to bear witness to the zeal and activity of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, in giving prompt and impartial relief to the wounded, and to the widows of those who were killed by the enemy, as well as those who suffered by loss of property in the burnings and devastation of a reckless foe . . . .
>
> Your Committee proceeded to the examination of the Honorable and Right Reverend the Bishop of Toronto, by whose evidence it appears that the papers are in part destroyed, . . . and that it is not likely that the list of persons supposed to be thought worthy of Medals, mentioned in the proceedings of the Society of 1st May 1815, is in his possession at all—though he is aware that the reason why the Medals were not distributed was from the extraordinary list sent in by the Commanding Officers, it being next to impossible for the Directors to decide upon the number who should obtain the Medals, (and which

---

[25] *Journal of the Assembly, 1840,* Part 1, 370-71 (February 8, 1840). For the text of the report, see Appendix, Part 1, 33-36.

[26] *Ibid.,* Appendix, Part 1, 42-43.

[27] *Ibid.,* Appendix, Part 1, 43-44.

[28] *Ibid.,* Appendix, Part 1, 44-45.

[29] *Ibid.,* Appendix, Part 1, 45-46.

[30] *Ibid.,* Appendix, Part 1, 47. This was the General Meeting at which it was decided to order more medals.

[31] *Ibid.,* Appendix, Part 1, 47-50.

> could not be for more than were in the possession of the Society) when the persons so returned as supposed worthy, far exceeded the means of thus rewarding the meritorious. . . .
>
> His Lordship further recommends that the resolution of a full meeting of the Directors had in 1820—be followed—that the proceeds of the Medals should be applied towards the support of the General Hospital . . . .
>
> Your Committee . . . . in bringing their Report to a close, beg leave to recommend to the adoption of your Honorable House certain resolutions which are herewith reported . . . . Your Committee recommend the adoption of these resolutions as carrying out the legitimate intention of the Directors of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, and they think that these Medals would still be highly prized by the living defenders of our country, as well as by the surviving friends of those whose blood has been shed in her defence.
>
> They do not conceive that there can be any obligation resting on the part of the Directors to apply the proceeds of the Medals to the Hospital, it might be proper enough so to apply the amount of balance of money left in their hands after all calls for pecuniary assistance had ceased, and more especially the £4,000, as they had the sanction of the Society from whom they had received the amount. But your Committee submit whether such an application of the fund raised in this Province can be so properly made, and whether there is not yet opportunity to redeem the pledge given to the brave and meritorious, that they should have a memento of their deeds as their constant companion, keeping them in living remembrance of their loyalty and love of country, and which badge of honor is more prized by the brave soldier than any mere pecuniary amount that may be given him.
>
> All of which is . . . submitted,
>
> DAVID THORBURN, Chairman,
>
> Committee Room, House of Assembly,
> 8th day of February, 1840.[32]

The following resolutions were then submitted by the Select Committee:

> *Resolved*, That during the late War with the United States of America, a Society was formed in this Province called the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, who among other acts caused to be struck a number of Gold and Silver Medals to be distributed among the gallant and meritorious Officers and Men of the Militia of the Province, who had distinguished themselves in the course of the contest, which Medals this House is informed have never been distributed.
>
> *Resolved*, That this House is of opinion, that it is most desirable that the Medals referred to should be distributed according to the original intention, among the Militia entitled to them and who are now living, and the children of such as are dead, that they may be retained as a distinguished memorial of the gallantry and loyalty of the brave and patriotic men for whom they were designed.
>
> *Resolved*, That the Speaker of this House be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing Resolutions to such of the Office bearers of the Patriotic Society as are resident in the Province, with the expression of the wish of this House, that they may be complied with, and that [they] be further requested to take such steps as may be thought proper to carry out the original intentions of the Society.[33]

---

[32] *Ibid.*, Appendix, Part 1, 33-36; also Journal, Part 1, 370-71.
[33] *Ibid.*, Appendix, Part 1, 51.

The Journal of the House of Assembly for February 8, 1840 records the presentation of the Select Committee's Report and the submission of the three Resolutions. Whereupon,

> Mr. Thorburn, seconded by Mr. Shaver, moves that the House do go into committee of the whole on the resolution [sic] reported by the committee . . . The House resumed . . . . The chairman reported that the committee had agreed to the resolutions, and submitted them for the adoption of the House. The report was received. The resolutions were severally put and carried . . . . On motion of Mr. Thorburn, seconded by Mr. Chisholm of Halton; *Ordered*—that five hundred copies of the report and its appendix be printed for the use of members, together with the resolutions as adopted by this House.[34]

It will be noted that the motion which authorized the creation of the Select Committee declared that the medals, "together with the residue of the amounts so contributed, were sent to this country to be distributed among the brave and deserving militia-men"—suggesting that the Directors were wilfully withholding money as well as medals from individuals readily identifiable. The pointed reference elsewhere to £445 "remaining in the hands of the Treasurer, Dr. Strachan" in October 1817 might well have been the basis for "some ungenerous slanders, which have lately appeared in a newspaper of this town."[35]

It may be that members of the Select Committee felt that ample amends for both thrusts had been made by the admission that it was "just to bear witness to the zeal and activity of the . . . Society in giving prompt and impartial relief . . . ."

Analysis of the Society's 1817 Report would have shown that the Select Committee erred in recording the cost of the medals at £1,100, since only £850 had been disbursed under that head; erred also in omitting regular soldiers and seamen on the lakes from the categories of servicemen who were to have been eligible for the award. Other phases of the Committee's Report and the Resolutions adopted by the House might be criticized as well.

The Directors, resenting the intrusion by the Legislature into matters of a private nature—as they contended—determined to close the matter once and for all, and called a meeting of the surviving members of the organization, to assemble on July 7, 1840 at Toronto. Special notices were sent to "His Lordship the Bishop of Toronto, the Honourable Chief Justice Robinson, the Honourable William Allan, the Honourable George Crookshank, William Chewitt, Esquire, Dr. Baldwin, D'Arcy Boulton, Senr., Esquire, Mr. John Murchison, Edward McMahon, Esquire, Jesse Ketchum, Esquire, Colonel Givins, Mr. Alexander Legg, Colonel Loring, Andrew Mercer, Esquire, Alexander Wood, Esquire". Those who actually attended the meeting were Bishop Strachan, Chief Justice Robinson, William Allan, George Crookshank, Colonel Givins and Alexander

---

[34] *Ibid.*, Journal, Part 1, 370-71 (February 8, 1840).

[35] *Explanation, 1841,* 7.

Wood.[36] Messrs. Allan and Wood were directed by the meeting to implement the Resolution of February 22, 1820, which had ordered the medals on hand to be defaced—so they could not fall into unworthy hands—and sold as bullion for the benefit of the Toronto General Hospital.

In carrying out this directive, Wood received from the Bank of Upper Canada a box containing 61 gold and 500 silver medals, and from Hon. William Allan, as found among the effects of Chief Justice Thomas Scott, deceased, another 48 silver medals. (That is, one of the gold and two of the silver medals had disappeared. Had they—or any one of them—ever been issued?) The bullion was sold in the autumn of 1840, the 61 gold medals to Charles Sewell and the silver medals in three parcels to Charles Sewell (121 medals) and William Stennett, (60 and 367 medals). The Society received £395/9/4½, Halifax currency, and, after deducting £1/17/4 paid Paul Bishop and two assistants for defacing the medals, a net sum of £393/12/0-½ was deposited in the Bank of Upper Canada for credit of the "Provincial Hospital's" account.[37]

Smarting under the lash of the House of Assembly's Committee, the Directors issued an *Explanation of Proceedings* in 1841.[38] In this pamphlet, the Directors, who, of course, knew of the Committee through being called before it, claimed to have had no knowledge until August 6, 1840 of either the Select Committee's Report or of the House of Assembly's resolutions of February 8, 1840. According to the *Explanation*:

> In the last Session of the Provincial Legislature, the delay in distributing the medals was taken up as a public grievance. A Committee was appointed to inquire into the cause of it, before whom the officers and several members of the Society were summoned, and an inquisition instituted, as if the funds of the Society, by which so much misery had been relieved, had been wholly, or in part, contributed from the revenues of the Province, whereas the Legislature had never, at any time, or in any shape, granted a shilling in aid of the fund; nor had manifested, while it was in most active operation, the slightest interest in its affairs. Upon this inquiry, the members of the Society afforded readily all the information desired of them, although they did not see, and did not acknowledge, the propriety of the interference. It had the effect, however, of impressing upon the surviving members of the Society, who were willing to take a part in its affairs, the necessity of putting an end to all future agitation of the question . . . None of the members . . . had seen the Report of the Committee of the House of Assembly . . . . The first knowledge any of them

---

36. *Ibid.*, 18-19 (Appendix 11). The Loyal and Patriotic Society was allied to the provincial administration of the time because of officials' subscriptions and the by-laws of the Society which made many of them Directors of the Society *ex officio*. Hence the close affinity between the Society and the much-criticized Family Compact remarked upon by Colonel C. P. Stacey in "The War of 1812 in Canadian History" (*Ontario History*, L (3), Summer 1958, 157), and still observable as late as 1840. This meeting of the resurrected Society to obstruct the popular will as expressed by the House of Assembly was reminiscent of the constitutional conflicts between Councils and Assembly waged during the two preceding decades.

37. *Explanation, 1841,* Appendix 111.

38. Dr. James H. Richardson, a harsh critic of the Society, in his article "The Mystery of the Medals" (*The University of Toronto Monthly*, February 1902, XI, 5), 131, said: "This action of the House of Assembly raised a storm of virtuous indignation . . . ."

> acquired of this was on the sixth day of August . . . when a printed copy of their Report was enclosed to their [i.e., the Society's] secretary, Mr. Wood. It is not meant to intimate by this remark, that a knowledge of the particulars would have led to the passing of a different Resolution from that which was in fact passed, though out of deference to the Assembly, the gentlemen who concurred in it would certainly not have omitted to refer to the Report, and to the suggestion which it contained, although they were sincerely impressed with the opinion that the manner in which the question had been brought forward was inconsiderate and injudicious.[39]

And so, amid recriminations, the troubled Upper Canada Preserved medals passed from history, terminating a quarter of a century of controversy. Several years more were to pass before the aged veterans of the War of 1812 received even partial recognition for their service on behalf of Province and Empire. In 1847 Queen Victoria established the War Medal, with clasps for individual battles, among them a few of the actions of the War of 1812. Troops who had been present at Fort Detroit, Chrysler's Farm and Chateauguay received the War Medal with appropriate clasp during 1848, but survivors of bitterly-contested actions like Queenston Heights or Lundy's Lane went unrecognized.

Was it possible that the Society received a greater number of medals than the 612 (or 609) pieces referred to in the Society's Report of 1817 and its Explanation of 1841? Was the sum expended on the medals large enough to conceal an additional quantity? As was noted previously, the Society expended a total of £850 sterling, or $3,777.78 American currency, to acquire all its medals. The bullion value, after defacement, amounted to $1,574.40 when sold in 1840. Accordingly the difference, $2,203.38, must have represented the cost of the designs, of making the dies, striking the pieces, and transporting the two lots to Canada; perhaps of cases as well.[40] Would such an amount be considered excessive? By chance it has been possible to compare these costs with those of designing and striking the Canadian Confederation Medal of 1867, a product of the same firm of medallists and produced in comparable quantity (551 medals and cases) as the Upper Canada Preserved medal. For the 1867 item, the charge for engraving the dies was £367/10/0 (350 guineas) and for striking the 500 bronze medals (the value of the bronze would be inconsiderable) £315—giving a total of £682/10/0, or $3,412.50 for these two items alone—nearly 55% more than the cost (apart from the bullion) of the Upper Canada Preserved medal. It should not be forgotten, either, that the Upper Canada Preserved medal involved the making of two separate dies and that costs during the long and critical Napoleonic war years were substantially higher than during the infancy of Canadian Confederation.[41] Nevertheless, one modern student, James H. Richardson,[42] taking without question the cost figure of $5,500 used by the House of Assembly's Committee of Inquiry in 1840, concluded that a sum of $3,925 was not fully accounted for by the cost of the dies, striking of the medals and transportation, and consequently that "there must have been many other medals than those contained in the two boxes. What became of them is a mystery." Much of the mystery disappears in the light of the fact that the 1840 Committee had arbitrarily assumed the Society's expenditure had been £1,100 (the sum of the two votes of 1813 and 1815), instead of the £850 which was actually disbursed by the Society for the medals,—an error of $1,250 on this count alone. And almost certainly Richardson did not investigate the cost of designing and cutting dies and the striking of medals.

---

[39] *Explanation, 1841,* 14-16.

[40] Rev. T. Fenwick raised this possibility in "A Letter to the Editor" published in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal,* Volume 1, Number 4, (April 1873), pages 172-73. The letter read, in part: "Some time after the medals were disposed of, Mr. Wood went to Scotland. Just before doing so, he put my parents in charge of all his property in Toronto till he should return. Of that a large box containing the cases of the medals formed part. Mr. Wood died in Scotland and the late Hon. George Crookshank, of Toronto, acting for the heiress, sold his household goods by public auction at the late Mr. Wakefield's rooms. One of the articles taken away professedly for the purpose of being sold there, was the box containing the medal cases, but what became of it, I cannot tell. It may have been sold, for aught that I know to the contrary."

As noted above, the bullion sold was derived from 61 gold and 548 silver medals. Yet the Society had received 62 gold and 550 silver medals. The *Explanation* makes no attempt to explain the shortage of one gold and two silver medals. In his biography of his father, Sir John Beverley Robinson, [43] C. W. Robinson referred twice to "61 gold and 548 silver medals" which were struck for the Society but never issued,[44] but also mentioned that "I know of only two which have been preserved—one gold and one silver. They were in the possession of the late Hon. G. W. Allan, of Moss Park, Toronto".[45]

Later, in 1912, C. W. Robinson informed Henry O'Brien, an eminent barrister of Toronto, that the two medals referred to in the "Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson" (pages 63 and 410) had been in the possession of George, a son of the Hon. William Allan and probably in 1912 would be in the possession of George Allan of Winnipeg, a grandson of William. However when Dr. C. K. Clarke wrote to George Allan of Winnipeg the latter denied having any recollection of having seen the medals and suggested that his mother would have turned over anything of that nature to some Toronto institution such as the public library after his father's death.[46] C. W. Robinson, who died in 1924, was born in 1836. If he really did remember seeing one gold and one silver medal they would certainly have had to be pieces other than the 609 medals destroyed in 1840, for he was no more than a child of four when the medals were sold as bullion.

---

[41] *The Sauerbeck Index* (*The Course of Average Prices of General Commodities in England, Average of 1867-1877 Being 100*) (London, 1908), gives the index for 1818 (the first year of calculation) as 142 and that for 1867 as approximately 100.

[42] In "The Mystery of the Medals."

[43] Sir Charles W. Robinson, *The Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., C.B., D.C.L., Chief Justice of Upper Canada* (London, 1904).

[44] Pages 63 and 410.

[45] *Ibid.*, 410.

[46] Clarke, *op. cit.*, 139-40.

If William Allan did really retain two medals as mementos, who could find it in his heart to point the finger of accusation?

Bishop Strachan, in his evidence before the Select Committee, testified that issue of the medals "was found impossible from the extraordinary lists sent in by the Commanding Officers" but neither he nor any other Director testified that not a single medal had ever been issued. Was there a single issue? It is interesting to speculate as to the significance of a letter—undated but apparently written in May 1815—by the then Rev. John Strachan to Colonel John Harvey: "I hope the time is not distant when your services shall meet with their deserts . . . . Would you be pleased with a Gold Medal from the L & P Society, it has been proposed to strike a very few for Officers of Rank who have particularly distinguished themselves in our defence, this confidentially."[47] However, if a gold medal was actually issued to Harvey, then Robinson could not have seen one after 1840 since only one gold medal was unaccounted for at the time of the defacement.

We turn now to the subsequent or numismatic phases of the history of the Loyal and Patriotic Society's still-born child, the "Upper Canada Preserved" medal. The first author to provide a description and illustration based upon an existing specimen appears to have been Benson J. Lossing, who in 1869 published a *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, in which he furnished a description and a sketch of one of the Society's medals in the possession of Charles I. Bushnell of New York.[48] In the same year, Alfred Sandham, the dean of Canadian numismatic authors, published his *Coins, Tokens and Medals of the Dominion of Canada*,[49] but did not refer therein to the Upper Canada Preserved medal. His first allusion thereto was made in the July, 1872 number of the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*.[50] A coloured sketch of the item was supplied as well. In April 1873 Sandham addressed the Literary and

---

[47] Harvey served in Canada through the War of 1812 and in later life was Governor of Newfoundland (1841-42), Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick (1837-41) and Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia (1846-52). He was in command at the decisive Battle of Stoney Creek, June 5, 1813, for which Strachan in a lettter of June 14, 1814 congratulated him in the following terms: ". . . . we owe the safety of the whole Province to the success of that intrepid attack." (*The Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834* Mss. in Ontario Archives). In *Toronto Of Old* (Toronto, 1878), 52, the Rev. Henry Scadding remarked that ". . . . no one was better entitled to a medal than was Harvey."

[48] (New York, 1869), 1064-65. The sketch he supplied of the "Upper Canada Preserved" medal is reasonably clear although he did not notice the designer's signature on the obverse, T. WYON JU F. He erred in referring to the river as the St. Lawrence instead of the Niagara, and in attributing the provision of the medal to the action of the British Government.

[49] (Montreal, 1869).

[50] In an article entitled "Medal of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada," pages 41-44. It is also described and illustrated as item 77 in the 1872 Supplement to Sandham's 1869 volume *Coins, Tokens and Medals of the Dominion of Canada.*

Historical Society of Quebec on "The Historic Medals of Canada."[51] The brief description of the Society's medal which he gave on that occasion seems to have been wholly derived from his earlier article in the *Canadian Antiquarian.*

In 1886, Robert Wallace McLachlan, an authority highly esteemed, published his *Canadian Numismatics; A Descriptive Catalogue of Coins, Tokens & Medals, Issued in or Relating to the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland.* He supplied no more than a few illustrations—not including the Upper Canada Preserved item—but his description, (which applies equally to the variety described by Sandham and Lossing), is so much the best that it is quoted in full:

> *CCLIX : SILVER*
>
> (Obv.) UPPER CANADA Ex. PRESERVED. A bird's eye view of the Niagara River, with Lake Erie in the foreground and Lake Ontario in the distance. On the left bank of the river is a beaver, gnawing at the stump of a tree, with a lion sleeping. On the right is an eagle hovering, apparently ready to swoop down upon the beaver. On the groundwork to the right, T. WYON JU F.
>
> (Rev.) PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY. Within a wreath of laurel, FOR MERIT. Size 51 mm. R 5.[52]

This description implies that the observer, in conformity with the conventional use of "left bank" and "right bank", is looking downstream. This version of the medal belongs to the fifty supplied to fill the Society's first order and which the Directors found unsatisfactory but, nevertheless, did not "reject" since they had been paid for in advance.

The T. Wyon signing as designer was not the first Thomas Wyon (1767-1830), Chief Engraver of the Seals, but his son, the second Thomas Wyon (1792-1817) who was Chief Engraver of the Royal Mint. The Wyon family, eminent among British medallists during six generations, were all descended from George Wyon, "a silver-chaser of Cologne" who arrived in England on August 1, 1714 in the train of King George the First.

In 1888 Joseph Leroux issued *Le Medaillier du Canada* with an illustration and a description of the version described by Lossing, Sandham and McLachlan; the description differed from McLachlan's chiefly in that Leroux did not refer to the signature of Thomas Wyon, Jr. He listed the piece as 866, and applied a rarity rating of 6, as compared with 10, the rating applicable to items almost or quite unique.[53]

In 1890, Leroux published a supplement to *Le Medaillier.* The supplement exhibited for the first time—under the number 866-a—an illustration as well as a description of a variety of the Upper Canada Preserved medal not previously known to collectors.[54] The differences between 866 and 866-a (numbers frequently quoted below), are as follows:

---

[51] Published in the Society's *Proceedings,* Session of 1872-73, New Series, Part 10, (Quebec, 1873), 83-85.

[52] (Montreal, 1886), 63.

[53] (Montreal, 1888), 169.

[54] (Montreal, 1890), 168-b.

(Obv.) The words FOR / MERIT have been brought more closely together. A date, 1815, has been inserted below the words, though still within the wreath. The wreath has been made fatter.

(Rev.) The scene, besides being changed, has been enclosed by a circle with UPPER CANADA above and PRESERVED below it. On the medal, as if on a map, have been inscribed names, LAKE ERIE, FORT ERIE, BLACKROCK, FORT TONEWONTA, CHIPPEWA, C. FALLS, FORT DRUMMOND, FORT NIAGGRA [sic], FORT GEORGE and LAKE ONTARIO. As thus labelled, *Lake Ontario* appeared in the foreground and Lake Erie in the distance, implying an observer facing upstream. Moreover, the eagle was shown at the left and the beaver—as well as the now less distant lion—at the right. 866-a, like 866, was described as being two inches in diameter but there was no reference to the basic metal. In the light of the date, 1815, and in the light of the names of the battles, 866-a is junior in age to 866 and is clearly the version preferred by the Society's Directors.

Leroux seems to be the only authority to list and describe the second version. Since he failed to mention any signature, it is not clear whether or not 866-a bore the name or initials of a designer.

Writing in 1872, Sandham remarked: "The dies . . . . were prepared by Messrs Wyon of London. The beauty of the medals fully sustains the high reputation borne by the artists". Speaking in Quebec in 1873, he mentioned that the first batch of medals received from England was rejected by the Society; that, although the name of the designer was unknown, the second order had been given to Wyon, who had executed it "to the entire satisfaction of the Committee". He went on to say that

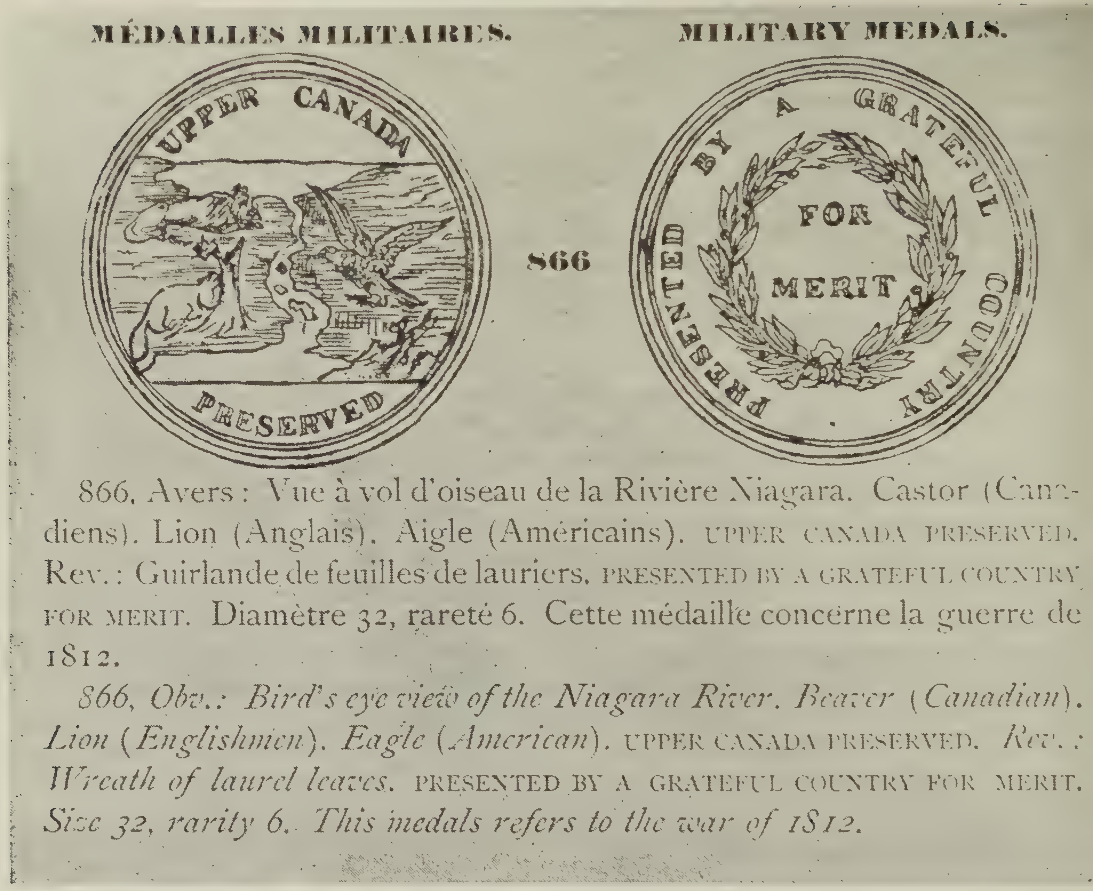
> . . . . the rejected medals remained for many years in the possession of the late Alex. Wood of Toronto, and were at length defaced by a blacksmith named Paul Bishop, who was employed for the purpose. The gold was sold to a watchmaker of Toronto named J. G. Joseph; while the silver was passed into the hands of another jeweller, named T. MacMurray.[55]

Today, in contrast, no one seems to be sure exactly who designed 866-a, the second version. But it is clear that the early version—which was not "rejected" but frowned upon—was designed by the younger Thomas Wyon. Sandham is categorical about the "rejected" pieces being in the possession of Wood but it would be interesting to know the source of his certitude. The misinformation about the jewellers must have been derived from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Fenwick in the *Canadian Antiquarian,*[56] which Sandham edited from 1872 to 1874. We have seen that the correct purchasers, of course, were Sewell and Stennett.

---

[55] Sandham, "The Historic Medals of Canada," 85.

[56] Fenwick's letter, referred to above (see footnote 40), also included the following information—or misinformation. "I quite distinctly remember seeing Bishop and one of his men . . . [defacing the medals] in the yard behind Mr. Wood's house. A relation of mine was at the time living in Mr. Wood's service. I lately wrote to her asking . . . if she remembered what became of the medals afterwards. In reply she says that to the best of her recollection, the gold ones were sold to the late J. G. Joseph . . . jeweller . . . in Toronto, and the silver ones to the late T. McMurray of a like occupation in the same place. In an article in a comic paper, I think PUNCH IN CANADA, which was published for a short time, it was said that the medals referred to were changed into articles very useful at the dinner table. . . ."


UPPER CANADA
PRESERVED
PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY
FOR
MERIT

MÉDAILLES MILITAIRES. **MILITARY MEDALS.**

866

866. Avers : Vue à vol d'oiseau de la Rivière Niagara. Castor (Canadiens). Lion (Anglais). Aigle (Américains). UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. Rev. : Guirlande de feuilles de lauriers. PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY FOR MERIT. Diamètre 32, rareté 6. Cette médaille concerne la guerre de 1812.

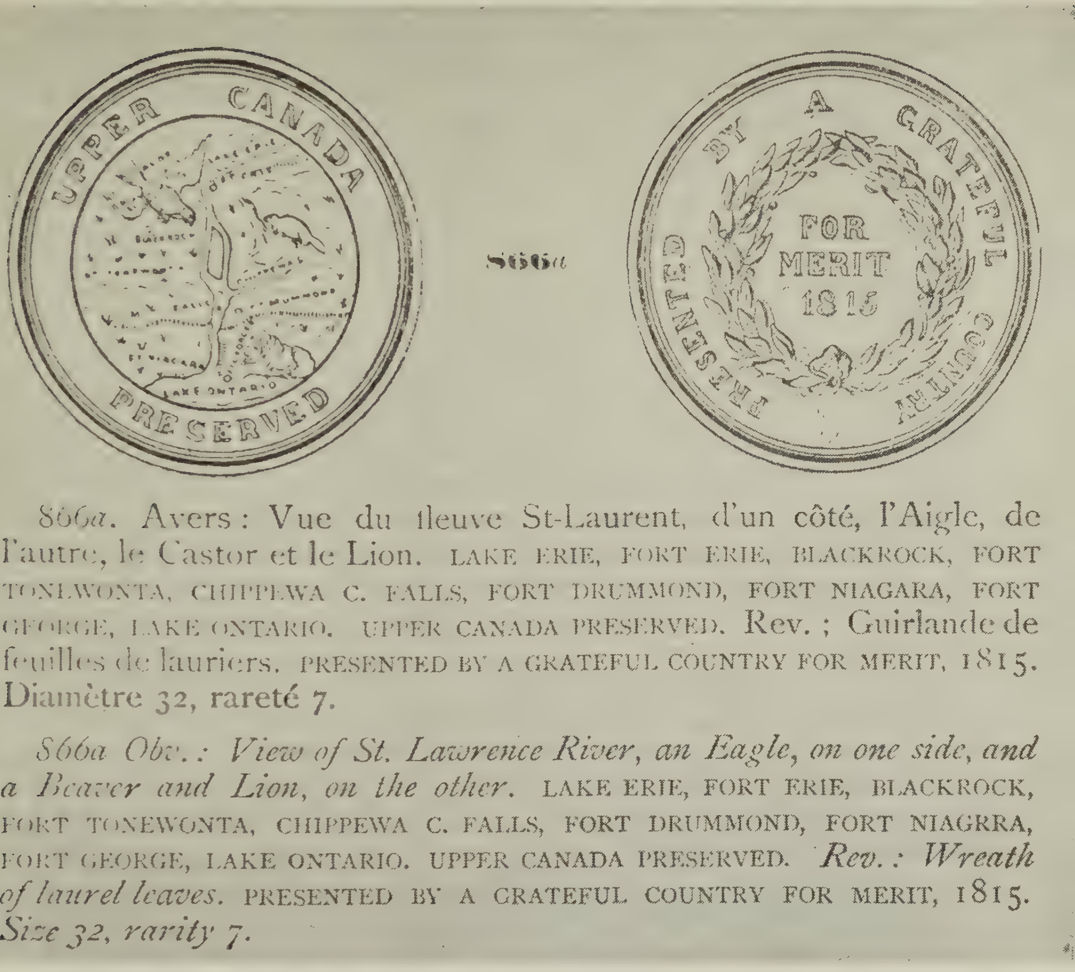
866, Obv.: Bird's eye view of the Niagara River. Beaver (Canadian). Lion (Englishmen). Eagle (American). UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. *Rev. : Wreath of laurel leaves.* PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY FOR MERIT. *Size 32, rarity 6. This medals refers to the war of 1812.*

Reproduced from LE MEDAILLIER DU CANADA by Joseph Leroux, M.D. (Montreal, 1888), page 169.

—Courtesy of Toronto Public Libraries Photographic Services

Returning to Sandham's article in the *Canadian Antiquarian* of July 1872, we encounter the statement: "The bronze and silver medals are seldom met with, and the existence of the medals was unknown to the majority of collectors until a recent date, when a specimen was sold in New York for a very large amount".

Sandham seems to have been referring to a sale of the collection of Charles Clay of Manchester, England, in December 1871, in which a Leroux 866 (probably) was sold for $42.50. That was hardly a "very large amount" even in the seventies. Sandham went on: "I have learned that a number of these medals are still to be found in possession of persons residing on the Niagara frontier, and other parts of Ontario, and they are looked upon with great reverence, nothing short of actual want being


UPPER CANADA
LAKE ONTARIO
PRESERVED
BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY
PRESENTED
FOR MERIT 1815

866*a*

866*a*. Avers : Vue du fleuve St-Laurent, d'un côté, l'Aigle, de l'autre, le Castor et le Lion. LAKE ERIE, FORT ERIE, BLACKROCK, FORT TONEWONTA, CHIPPEWA C. FALLS, FORT DRUMMOND, FORT NIAGARA, FORT GEORGE, LAKE ONTARIO. UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. Rev. ; Guirlande de feuilles de lauriers. PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY FOR MERIT, 1815. Diamètre 32, rareté 7.

866a Obv.: View of St. Lawrence River, an Eagle, on one side, and a Beaver and Lion, on the other. LAKE ERIE, FORT ERIE, BLACKROCK, FORT TONEWONTA, CHIPPEWA C. FALLS, FORT DRUMMOND, FORT NIAGRRA, FORT GEORGE, LAKE ONTARIO. UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. *Rev.: Wreath of laurel leaves.* PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY FOR MERIT, 1815. *Size 32, rarity 7.*

Reproduced from the Supplement to LE MEDAILLIER DU CANADA by Joseph Leroux, M.D. (Montreal, 1890), page 168-b.

—Courtesy of Toronto Public Libraries Photographic Services

likely to induce the owners to part with these records of their ancestors' loyalty and courage".[57]

Rumours of this sort seem to have been common, but the shrewder authorities, lacking any authentic evidence, expressed doubt. McLachlan, for example, writing of the Upper Canada Preserved medal in the *American Journal of Numismatics* for October 1894, said bluntly, "All of the known Wyon medals are restrikes."[58] Dr. C. K. Clarke as well, in his *History of the Toronto General Hospital*, queries the accuracy of an author who spoke of "having seen these [Upper Canada Preserved] medals in the possession of various farmers on the Niagara frontier . . . ."[59]

---

[57] Sandham, "The Medal of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada," 44.

[58] Robert Wallace McLachlan, "The Upper Canada Preserved Medal" (*American Journal of Numismatics*, XXIX (2), October, 1894), 49.

Was the process of defacing the medals wasteful of the constituent metals? Richardson charged that it was:

> Bishop has told me, and one of his assistants, Hamilton, has corroborated Bishop's statements, that he set up an anvil in the garden at the back of Mr. Wood's house, that the medals were brought in successive trayfuls, and were one by one smashed on the anvil with a large hammer, the face of which had been roughened for the purpose; the rings and chipped edges flying off among the vegetables.[60]

It may be so; there is no reason to doubt that Richardson and Bishop were both honestly reporting what they remembered. Still, the defacing was in 1840 and Richardson was writing in 1902. And the story seems hardly plausible. The hammer with its face roughened suggests the theatrical. It would have been more natural to set on the top of each target-medal one of the rough iron billets—say five inches by three inches by half-an-inch—then to be found in every smithy as raw material. Defacing medals would be too picayune a task—one for which three men were paid a total of $7.47—to justify mutilating the surface of a maul expressly for the purpose. Did neither Bishop nor Hamilton say who were present at the ceremony of defacement? Whether the bits and pieces were garnered from among the vegetables? Who did the garnering? Be the issue relevant or not, the tale would have lost nothing in the telling and often would the narrators have told the story.

While Clarke was preparing his fine *History of the Toronto General Hospital* he instituted an inquiry into the dies used in striking the Society's medal:

> It was found that the firm was still represented by Mr. Allan G. Wyon . . . . Mr. Wyon stated that the dies were in his possession, and kindly offered to furnish bronze medals, which will be found, suitably mounted, in the office of the Superintendent in the new General Hospital. Unfortunately, the records in regard to the number of medals originally purchased from the firm have not been preserved, but the facts already given make it reasonably certain that none of the medals were distributed. Under the circumstances the bronze edition becomes unique as a memento of the stirring days of 1812 . . . . The medal has become a faded memory; the Hospital is a glorious reality . . . . [61]

Few will fail to echo Dr. Clarke's rejoicing in his new hospital: but "the bronze edition" of the Society's medal, contrary to Dr. Clarke's opinion, is by no means unique.

Writing in 1894, McLachlan[62] said that the second order had been given to "another medallist" but admitted that he could not be sure whether the first version has been 866 or 866-a. Writing to Dr. Clarke in 1913, he advanced the view[63] that 866 was the "rejected" variety while

---

[59] Clarke, *op. cit.,* 24.

[60] Richardson, *op. cit.,* 133; see also Clarke, *op. cit.,* 29-30.

[61] Clarke, *op. cit.,* 25.

[62] McLachlan, "The Upper Canada Preserved Medal," 48.

[63] Clarke, *op. cit.,* 143-44.

866-a was the approved—and later piece. Indubitably, it is later: the date 1815 clearly proves this.

Subjoined is a very incomplete list of sale prices and offerings:

PRICE	DATE	DETAILS
$42.50	Dec. 1871	UPPER CANADA PRESERVED medal. Sale in New York by Leavitt of the collection of Charles Clay of Manchester. [See Clarke, 142; *Canadian Antiquarian*, January 1875, 109-110; *American Journal of Numismatics*, January 1872, 69.]
20.00	June 1876	Sale in New York: [Clarke, 142, *Canadian Antiquarian*, October 1876, 64-5; *American Journal of Numismatics*, October 1876, 46.]
19.50	May 1890	Sale by Chapman in Philadelphia of the collection of H. H. Huntzinger of Pottsville, Pa., "restrike but very rare." [*American Journal of Numismatics*, July 1890, 107-9.]
15.50	Aug. 1893	UPPER CANADA MILITARY MEDAL, Leroux 866; restrike.
6.00		The same in bronze; restrike. Sale by Chapman in Philadelphia of the collection of C. T. Whitman of Albany. [*American Journal of Numismatics*, October 1893, 49].
	1895	UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. View of Niagara River, Lake Erie Erie and Lake Ontario; Lion and Beaver left; Eagle right. Rev. FOR MERIT. Wreath. L 866; McL. 259.
6.00		Lot 401. AR [Argent=silver.] Perfect.
4.00		Lot 402. Bronze proof. Perfect.
2.70		Lot 403. As last in all respects.
3.20		Lot 404. Ditto. "These medals were struck in gold and silver for those who distinguished themselves in the war of 1812. All (four) of the preceding are from dies very slightly rusted." (From sale by Scott Stamp and Coin Company of Gerald E. Hart's collection. Recorded by a collector).
3.25	1912	Upper Canada Preserved. 866. Wyon. Rarity 6. Lot 502. Bronze. Iridescent proof. A beautiful medal.
20.00		Lot 503. Silver proof. From Chapman Brothers, 1890. Cost $19.50. (Morris Sale by Ben Green. From the record of a collector).
6.50	1920	Leroux 866. Lot 240. Silver proof. Restrike.
2.25		250. Bronze proof. Restrike.
22.00		251. Same but with the eagle over the left shore which bears the names of Fort Niagara, Falls, Tonewonta, Blackrock Buffalo, Fort Drummond, Chippewa, Fort Erie, Lake Erie. Rev. Same but with 1815 below MERIT . . . Bronze with bronze loop. Size 20-½. Excessively rare. (From sale by Chapman of Hunter collection, as recorded by a collector).

Offerings by Spink and Son Limited, 5, 6, & 7 King Street, St. James's, London, SW 1; (earlier 17 & 18 Piccadilly, London, W.).

Offered	Date	Remarks in circulars
£3/15/0	April 1911	Bronze; restrike. VF & S.
3/15/0	Feb. 1912	Bronze; restrike. VF.
1/1/0	Nov.-Dec. 1923	(See note below).
1/1/0	Jan.-Feb. 1925.	Ditto.
1/1/0	July-Aug. 1925.	Ditto.
1/1/0	Jan. 1927	Ditto.
0/15/0	Feb. 1928	Ditto.

The last five circulars each included the following explanation:

> UPPER CANADA PRESERVED
>
> Obv. View of the St. Lawrence River. On the Canadian side at the northern end a lion couchant and at the southern end a beaver are shown as watching an eagle in an aggressive attitude on the opposite bank. UPPER CANADA PRESERVED. Rv. FOR MERIT within a laurel wreath. PRESENTED BY A GRATEFUL COUNTRY. 2" diameter. EF. . . .
>
> The idea of making an honorary award to commemorate this war against the United States of America originated with the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Toronto. It was decided to issue a medal, the first design for which was submitted but was not approved. A later design was passed and the order was given in 1817 to Messrs Wyon to supply the medals in gold and silver. In the former metal 62 and in the latter 548 can be accounted for. The issue, however, was never made. There was much discussion as to the distribution in regard to the services which entitled individuals to the gift of the medal. Eventually the medals were defaced and sold as bullion and the proceeds were given to the funds of the Toronto General Hospital. There is no record that any of the originals were saved from destruction. One or two specimens in bronze and one in lead of a smaller medal of identical design are known to be in existence. There is, however, no record of the origin of these in Wyon's books and they are considered to be pattern medals. Mr. W. S. Coutts having purchased the dies from Messrs Wyon, with the object of sending them to Canada had 100 silver medals struck by them and had each medal numbered. We are now able to offer the remainder of the 100 medals at the above very low figure.

The business of the Wyon firm has been incorporated with that of Messrs John Pinches (Medallists) Limited, 1 St. Luke's Avenue, London, SW 1.

Since the dies apparently are still in existence, it can hardly be expected that specimens of the Upper Canada Preserved medal, at any rate, of the 866 variety, will ever become rare. Indeed, contrary to the aims of the Directors, they can fall into unworthy hands. In this respect, they share the historic paradox that has enveloped the Society and its medal since the War of 1812. The Directors spurned the 866 variety which collectors have praised for its beauty of design and achievement. Though medals have often been reported held "on the Niagara frontier and other parts of Ontario" where they were treasured as precious heirlooms from gallant ancestors, evidence is virtually conclusive that no issue of the medals was ever made. Though all but three of the pieces received from the medallist were defaced and sold as bullion, prices of specimens fell from $42.50 in 1871 to fifteen shillings in 1928 as restrikes in silver kept coming on the market. (One restrike in bronze—Clarke's 'unique memento'—sold for as little as $2.25 in 1920.). A medal intended to mark Upper Canadians' bravery in facing the King's enemies during the War of 1812 survives instead to remind us of the humane service rendered during the same conflict by its sponsors; sponsors who despite the belated censure of Upper Canada's House of Assembly will remain gratefully remembered for their share in founding the Toronto General Hospital.

NEW PAGES OF PREHISTORY, 1959

Edited by J. Norman Emerson[1]

The field season of 1959 saw no letup in the investigation of broad archaeological problems throughout Ontario.

In the southeastern area, the Royal Ontario Museum's continuing work on the Serpent Mound is reported upon by Richard Johnston. The 54 skeletons recovered to date will form an extremely valuable comparative series. Major work carried out upon the shell middens make it possible to assign the culture to the Middle Woodland period (Point Peninsula), backed by a carbon-14 date of 1830 ± 200 (BP 1958). This information will assist greatly in relating the Serpent Mound studies to New York materials reported by Ritchie.

Bowen P. Squire's somewhat speculative but thought-provoking report upon the Kenté region serves to focus the archaeological spotlight upon this important area. The Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario is to be commended for supporting the investigations and utilizing the knowledge of locally-informed persons like Mr. Squire. The initial analysis of the McDonald village site offers further indication that Prince Edward County is very much a part of the widespread Iroquoian culture.

Clyde Kennedy's report on plummet or "charmstones" in the Ottawa valley fixes attention upon the Ontario Archaic Period and marks a welcome flight into the realm of archaeological analysis. His study of the function and interpretation of specimens recovered from Morrison's Island near Pembroke should elicit comment from a number of Ontario archaeologists.

Walter Kenyon's report upon work at the Miller site near Pickering is probably the most exciting archaeological data being dealt with at the moment. Here Kenyon is furnished with the opportunity to secure clear and detailed knowledge of a complete village complex. Excellent progress has been made thus far, but two-thirds of the task still lies ahead. The Miller site provides extremely interesting information concerning Ontario Iroquois origins, and the report contains a thought-provoking theory on the origins of Huron ossuary burial patterns. The Miller site seems on the way to becoming a key site for the understanding of Ontario prehistory.

A feature that the Miller site enjoys in common with Dr. Jury's long-established Indian Village project in Huronia is the remarkable degree of interest both evoke among the public. In addition to the 21,847 persons reported as having visited the Indian village at Midland

---

[1] Associate Professor and Supervisor of Archaeological Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 1.

in 1959, another 18,000 persons visited the Royal Ontario Museum's excavations at the Miller site. These are impressive numbers. And as educational and public relations activities in connection with these projects are increased the number of visitors is likely to grow.

Turning our attention northward into Huronia, we note that Dr. Jury continued his valuable excavation and training work at both the prehistoric and historic levels. His efforts in 1959 were concentrated somewhat more upon the recovery of naval and military historic materials at Penetanguishene and Old Willow Fort.

Nor did archaeologists hesitate to venture north into the rugged grandeur of the Laurentian Shield and less-accessible areas of the province. Indeed archaeology in Ontario will soon extend to the exciting "tree-line" section south of James Bay. This emphasis may be expected to increase in view of the opening of new university centres in northern Ontario. Selwyn Dewdney's pictograph record is reaching extremely interesting proportions and many of us will find Bon Echo and Lake Mazinaw more fascinating places because of his findings. At Red Sucker Point on the north shore of Lake Superior a unique archaeological problem is encountered—explaining the purpose and function of the structures known as the Puckasaw Pits. Our present view, which is offered for consideration below, is that they were vision-seeking sites. If this is an adequate explanation it suggests considerable antiquity for the practice among Woodland peoples. Kenyon's survey in the Rainy Lake district promises to open up a whole field of interest oriented towards the Plains area and Minnesota, for he has located an apparently extensive mound complex.

An important feature of the past year's activities, as evidenced by the reports submitted by Clyde Kennedy and the Ontario Archaeological Society, is a growing emphasis upon archaeological analysis and laboratory work. The publication by the Society of a booklet containing reports on the Boyd, Squire, Boys and Barrie sites was a step in this direction. We note, too, the excellent and handsome report on The Inverhuron Site prepared by Walter Kenyon and published by the Royal Ontario Museum, and also the latest addition to the series of archaeological bulletins from the University of Western Ontario.

Finally, the great contributions by an increasing number of institutions and agencies to the furtherance of archaeology in Ontario must be acknowledged with thanks. The National Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum, the University of Toronto, the University of Western Ontario continued to sustain active campaigns with the support of the federal and provincial authorities. The continued and increasing interest by the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, the Ontario Departments of Education, Lands and Forests, Planning and Development, and Travel and Publicity, and by the Canada Council, has been most gratifying. Moreover the aid furnished by such private concerns as the Imperial Oil, Limited, the Miller Paving Company, and the Marathon Corporation offer further and convincing evidence that archaeology in a very real sense is becoming "everybody's business".

EXCAVATIONS AT SERPENT MOUNDS

By Richard B. Johnston[2]

Again in 1959 a Royal Ontario Museum field party spent ten weeks excavating at the Serpent Mounds Site in Peterborough County. The work was made possible by the generous support of the Royal Ontario Museum, the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, a grant from the Government of Ontario, and by the Serpent Mounds Foundation.

In previous years our excavations have been confined to the eastern half of the 194-foot-long Serpent Mound. By the end of the 1959 season, when an examination was undertaken near the west end of the mound, slightly more than half of the structure had been excavated. Fifty-four undisturbed burials have been discovered thus far, in addition to a probably greater number of burials disturbed by more or less recent intrusions.

Four intrusions, one containing numerous disturbed burials and a broken glass bottle of modern origin, were found during the past season of work. Previous digging, however, had not disturbed three individuals interred in the fill of the mound and one buried in a shallow pit in the old ground surface below the mound. Two of those in the fill were partially cremated and accompanied by artifacts. One, a child, was found just eight inches below the mound surface and had three copper beads beneath it. Elsewhere a severely burned infant had been buried with a necklace of more than 370 disc and barrel-shaped shell beads. Nearby, an almost entirely disarticulated adult was found without grave goods. Two and a half feet below, a flexed young adult male had been placed in a shallow sub-mound pit with a number of small logs and wood in and adjoining the grave. Also included, in the knee region, was a foot-long plano-convex double-bitted adze—similar objects have been called picks in the archaeological literature.

After initial testing in 1959, a second of the ossuary-like pit burials north of the mound group was investigated and found to contain twenty-four disarticulated individuals, many of which could be termed bundle burials. A broken adze was associated with the interments in the four-by-five-foot pit, that was otherwise devoid of cultural material excepting several sherds, some of Late Woodland type, in the fill washed in above the burials.

A major part of the work in 1959 was devoted to the shell midden above the shore of Rice Lake near the mound group. Eighty-five five-foot squares were completed in this area, yielding a considerable quantity of cultural material, especially pottery, but no burials. Bone objects, awls, pins, etc., were recovered, including a unilaterally and bilaterally barbed harpoon. Stone artifacts, including projectile points and adzes or fragments of adzes, were also present. The majority of the pottery is Middle Woodland (Point Peninsula) in origin although a Late Woodland sample and examples of Iroquois types were collected.

---

[2] **Field Director,** Royal Ontario Museum Serpent Mounds Excavation.

New charcoal samples from the midden and the Serpent Mound, previously dated at 1830 ± 200 (BP 1958) or approximately 128 A.D., will be submitted for analysis and are expected to firmly establish chronology at Serpent Mounds.

THE REDISCOVERY OF THE KENTÉ REGION

By Rev. Bowen P. Squire[3]

The water was exceedingly boisterous that afternoon in May when my boatman, Bill Kerr of Consecon, took me across Weller's Bay. Our outboard-powered boat seemed very frail as it rose to the waves, then plunged downward into the troughs between. There were occasions when the waves rose higher than our heads, and before the journey was completed we were soaking wet.

Many years ago this turbulent body of water had been a comparatively placid lake across which Indians had safely paddled their dug-outs and elm-bark canoes. It had been a fairly calm piece of enclosed water when known to the early adventurers as The Lake of the Kentés, for in those days it was separated from the stormy Lake of the Entouhonorons by a tree-covered causeway that extended from the Peninsula to the mainland, and was used for a trail by the tribes coming from the Trent valley to the paradise of fish and game now known as Prince Edward County.

Following the advent of the Loyalist pioneers this causeway was denuded of its protective covering until now it is little more than a sand spit, lying little above the level of the water in midsummer, and covered by rolling waves, or by ice at other seasons of the year. The greater part of the ancient causeway was almost completely destroyed when it was used as a bombing and target practice range during the two Great Wars.

Our purpose was to visit the remaining elevated portion of the causeway, called Bald Head (or Point), to see what traces, if any, remained of an Indian site known to have existed there until about fifty years ago. Canniff in his History had mentioned rumours of valuable relics having been dug from this ground, and this had led to many expeditions in search of buried treasure. But if any was found, the discovery was not made public. A great many Indian skeletal remains and artifacts were uncovered, however, and these inspired the belief that here must be the site of the Iroquois Mission of Kenté. The Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario sought proof, if such could be found, that might lead to the discovery of the site of this lost mission. I am indebted to the Board for the grant which assisted in meeting the expenses of my search.

---

[3] Member, Ontario Archaeological Society and Kingston Historical Society.

Arriving on the Head, we easily found the place that had been dug over. Piles of sand and earth beside deep holes mark the spot. Sifting through some of the sandpiles brought to light the bones of small mammals, birds, and fishes, and in one or two that we trenched to discover the nature of the underlying surface, were found a few hand-made iron nails, three badly corroded pieces of cut iron from the trade kettles for which the Mississauga Indians bartered Ameliasburg in 1787, and some more modern fragments evidently left by picnickers or treasure-hunters.

A later reconnaissance of the bay area disclosed other apparently undisturbed mounds close to the shore line. Whether these are of natural or artificial raising will require careful investigation to determine.

Disappointment over the lack of evidence on the Head was not so great as it might have been, since the writer has long felt that the site of the Kenté Mission should be sought on the mainland of the Prince Edward Peninsula, and that it was not an isolated village, but the central and largest village of a group similar to the group of villages in Huronia. For more than a dozen years I have investigated this pattern and by the summer of 1958 the quest appeared to be nearing a successful conclusion.

Some of the sites in this system were found long ago by pioneer settlers, and the information has been passed down from generation to generation. Other sites, once known, had been long forgotten, leaving only rumours of their existence. These needed to be rediscovered and their positions charted. Most of these once-known sites had been dug and picked over by collectors in years past, who had removed the choice material, sometimes surreptitiously, leaving only scattered fragmentary remains from which to identify the early occupation. The writer, however, can lay claim to being the original discoverer of what seems to be the largest, and possibly the longest-inhabited, site of the group.

At the western extremity of Prince Edward County is Lake Consecon. It forms the mouth of a creek that once was navigable from end to end, of great width, and that wound through swamp, marshland, and forest, from a point close to Deseronto Reach opposite Hay Bay, completely across the peninsula; when, entering the wide, deep stretch now known as Lake Consecon it merged with the Lac de Kenté, of which Consecon lake was once considered a part.

In Indian times, and when the first white settlers came to the region Consecon lake was about one-half the present width: or approximately one-half mile wide. About the year 1806 the erection of a dam caused the inundation of the north shore lands in particular, to the foot of the second glacial level. Originally the north bank was a sheer cliff in places, and the water in these spots was very deep. The south shore was largely sand-flats below forested, shallow-soiled limestone heights. The elevations surrounding the lake, immediately above the water, are 325′ above sea level. Less than half a mile from the northerly shore are ridges, some of limestone till and others of sandy deposits, that rise in places to approximately 400 feet above sea level.

Investigations had led to the supposition that in the vicinity of this lake with its surrounding, protective heights the pattern of Indian villages might be found.

Early maps showed the region between the eastern part of the peninsula and the Lake Consecon area to have been composed largely of swamp and marshland, interspersed by occasional knolls, and ridges. Diaries of early pioneer travellers seemed to confirm this. One, writing of a journey through this area, described it as a "howling wilderness" of marsh, mud, and fallen timber. It seems doubtful that the Indian would have erected his lodges in country like that, although an occasional hunting camp doubtless was set up on the more dry land, that would, in the summer months have been habitable. Indeed, many traces of such are to be found on the knolls and ridges that bordered small streams. The high country surrounding the excellent fishing and hunting ground of Lake Consecon, however, seemed the logical place to look for signs of permanent habitation, or villages.

Several maps, roughly drawn, were made of this region during the seventeenth century, but none of them "pin-pointed" the village of Kenté. It may have been periodically removed during the century, as was Indian custom, from one spot to another a short distance away, thus accounting for the failure to definitely mark a certain spot. Generally its position was shown as somewhere east of the Great Portage, (Carrying Place), east of the Lac de Kenté, (Weller's Bay) and in the western part of the peninsula. The area surrounding Lake Consecon meets these conditions, being situated almost due east from the Bald Head - Carrying Place region, and on the eastern shore of the lake of the Kenté's.

This was a very strategic position. It commanded the waterways from east to west across the peninsula, and the adjacent heights overlooked the entrance to the Trent valley, giving a clear view of the Trent hills, the portage, the bay, and a vast extent of country to the north, south, and east. As a post for observation and control it was a spot to delight a military strategist, or an Indian chieftain. It is surprising, how many small and large villages, campsites, and burials have been found in this area.

The search was concentrated on larger sites chiefly, especially for those that showed traces of Iroquoian residence, because Kenté of the mission era was an Iroquois town.

By the close of the summer of 1959 the sought-for pattern had emerged. If one draws a circle ten miles in diameter around Lake Consecon, it will encompass the sites of six large villages, at least four smaller sites, one fairly large burial ground, and places where a number of smaller burials have been located. Of the larger sites, two are on the second terrace above the creek bank a short distance east of the lake. Three are close to the lake itself, and one is near the shore of the bay. Each of the three latter sites is approximately three-quarters of one mile from the original water front.

It has been found that from the easternmost of the six sites an overland trail extended to, and beyond, the most westerly site of the group. Discarded or lost materials of Indian manufacture are to be found along the course of this land route which supplemented the water route via the creek and the lake. This land-trail followed the higher land, passing close to each of the villages. I have in the past been informed by now-deceased residents of this part of the county that when their pioneer ancestors arrived this trail was a well-worn depression over much of its route.

An interesting feature is that the sites are situated almost equidistant along this trail. One gap remains to be filled. That between the third and fourth sites is approximately double the distance that separates the others. A site may yet be found midway of this gap, as I have picked up broken fire-stones and fragments of slate on the spot, which is close to an old "beaver meadow".

Approaching from the east, the first four sites are along the south shores in an almost straight line extending in a south-westerly direction. Near the fourth site the trail turned north to Lake Consecon which it presumably crossed (by canoe, of course) at a point where until recently stood a small island, or distinct eminence, rising above the cedar swamp that in this place bordered the lake, for here the trail reappears on the north shore of the lake a little to the west of the fifth site. Occasional flints are to be picked up here. From this point the trail pursued a general northerly direction for above one mile, where, reaching the bank of a small, very crooked stream, it veered west, following the stream towards the sixth site, from which place it appears to have continued in the direction of the Great Portage. Here it doubtless connected with the Iroquois trail that traversed the Trent valley.

On each of the first five sites definite Iroquoian material has been found. Lalonde High collared pottery and trumpet pipes have been discovered on two of these sites, possibly denoting fairly early habitation. In addition, on three of these sites have been picked up ground-slate points, leaf-shaped, with notched, or serrated tangs that may be of Laurentian Period manufacture. One site has, in the past, from information presented, yielded red-ochre burials. I found numerous pieces of hematite scattered about near this spot, and there may still be undisturbed burials in this locality. The sixth site has yielded pot sherds of the Glen Meyer culture, in addition to flint points, ground-slate points, and leaf-shaped flint knives or scrapers possibly of the Point Peninsula

AUGUSTANA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

period. My thanks are due to Mr. Frank Ridley of Toronto, for identifying these objects.

In many respects, the most interesting of these sites may be the fifth one, described by the writer in the 1958 edition of *Historic Kingston.* When the site was discovered it was reported to The National Museum, and shortly thereafter it was inspected by Thomas Lee, then the Museum's field representative. Mr. Lee thought it may have been a palisaded town at one time, and I am indebted to him for identifying many of the early finds from this site. Other recent visitors have included Professor McIlwraith and Professor Emerson of the University of Toronto and Professor G. F. G. Stanley of the Royal Military College at Kingston. This site has proved an interesting attraction to students from as far away as Great Britain, and until it was closed to the public two years ago it was visited by many hundreds of school children and tourists.

Discovered in 1951, this was the only site of the group to have escaped looting by early, private collectors, and it was almost undisturbed in the lower levels. It appears to have covered an area of some four to five acres in extent, and from it have been taken by surface searching and by excavation, artifacts ranging from the early Laurentian, through intermediate cultures to the early historic and contact periods. Some of these artifacts have been illustrated and described by the writer, along with a chart of the area, in an article in The Ontario Archaeological Society's "Publication Number 4" in 1958.

The problem of locating the exact spot where the mid-seventeenth century mission stood may not yet be definitely solved and it may never be decided to everybody's satisfaction. However the possibility exists that it is to be found amongst this group of village sites ranged about the shores of Lake Consecon and close to the waters of the Lake of the Kenté's. In one of these villages the Sulpician Fathers may have made their headquarters from which they carried their message to the neighbouring villages. However the mission did not long endure, and it would appear that the efforts of the missioners bore little fruit.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE McDONALD SITE, PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

By J. Norman Emerson

During June 1959 Mr. Richard Pearson of the National Museum carried out considerable research upon the materials excavated from the McDonald site by the University of Toronto the previous summer. Taken in conjunction with the Rev. Bowen P. Squire's studies, Pearson's analysis throws considerable new light upon the prehistory of Prince Edward County.

Using MacNeish's "Iroquoian Pottery Types" as a guide, Pearson encountered the following distribution of ceramic types: Lawson Incised, 21.6%, Black Necked, 20.1%, Huron Incised, 12.4%, Pound Necked, 12.0%, Lawson Opposed, 12.0%, Middleport Oblique, 5.0%, Dutch Hollow Notched, 4.6%, Ontario Horizontal, 3.1%, Seed Incised, 1.9%, Durfee Underlined, 1.9%, Warminster Crossed, 1.2%, Lalonde High Collared, 0.8%, Sidey Notched, 0.8%, Onondaga Triangular, 0.8%, Warminster Horizontal, 0.4%, Richmond Mills Incised, 0.4%, Ontario Linear, 0.4%, and Aberrant, 1.2%.

The distribution suggests certain interesting points. The most popular pottery types (Lawson Incised, Pound Necked, Lawson Opposed and Middleport Oblique, accounting for 50.6% of the total) relate this village to the Neutral area of southwestern Ontario. The presence of Ontario Horizontal and Middleport Oblique suggest that it is early in the Iroquois sequence. The popularity of Black Necked, however, relates it to a series of villages in the lower Humber valley in the western suburbs of Toronto. There is evidence also of contact or trade relations with western New York (Dutch Hollow Notched and Richmond Mills Incised types) and influences from eastern New York-eastern Ontario are present, though meagre (Durfee Underlined and Onondaga Triangular types). The remaining ceramic types suggest connections ultimately with historic Huron. Hence Prince Edward County appears to have been a "melting pot".

Final observations upon the McDonald site seem to suggest a broad lake coast occupation by early Iroquois peoples and raise once again the possibility that the Trent valley was a likely migration route from the Bay of Quinte to historic Huronia.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN HURONIA

By Wilfrid Jury[4]

Our party was engaged in archaeological and historical work in the Midland - Penetang - Barrie area from May 1 to September 30, 1959.

During the months of May and June the Indian Village at Midland was repaired and altered so that returning visitors would meet a new and varying scene. The village was built under the direction of the University of Western Ontario in 1954-55, and in full scale recreating the everyday life of the Huron Indian at the coming of the white man. Encircling palisade, longhouses with furnishings, medicine man's hut, drying and smoking racks, storage pits, a sweatbath, grinding stones, grain storage bins, and other features as described by the first Europeans are portrayed in an atmosphere of wood, stone, fur, and smoke.

The village is being operated with the full co-operation of the Department of Education of the Province of Ontario. Guides are students of the University of Western Ontario. During the month of June, 6,354 school children from all sections of the province were conducted through the village and received a twenty-minute talk. Total attendance was 21,847.

---

[4] Curator, The Museum of Indian Archaeological and Pioneer Life, The University of Western Ontario, London.

In July, the Summer School of Indian Archaeology again worked at the Forget site near Wyebridge. This is a pre-contact Huron site which the work of previous summers has proven to have been enclosed by a double palisade. The outlines of thirteen buildings have been traced by postmolds in the light, sandy soil, and eleven of these have been thoroughly examined. The method of construction was found to be similar in all of them, but the size, plan, placement of doors, and other features varied. Only in a few instances were there deep fire pits, while large areas of burnt sand indicated shallow fires on the surface.

Headquarters for the School of Indian Archaeology is at the Officers' Quarters Museum at Penetanguishene where one lecture is given each morning on a subject relating to the North American Indian. 1959 marks the tenth session of this school which is attended by an average of 15 to 20 students drawn from all walks of life.

During the latter two weeks of July, we commenced an examination of a site west of Penetanguishene. This was the result of a survey of Tiny Township which we made in 1958. A small group of university students assisted in opening the site, surveying, gridding, trenching, etc. It was proven that it had been triple palisaded. Artifactual material was late Huron with seventeenth century French objects. A portion of a wall was examined. Our interest in this site is that it complies with two of the requisites for the site of Carhagouha which Champlain said was triple palisaded and close to the bay. Future excavations may bring further proof of its identity.

In August we were engaged in the restoration of the Naval Establishment at Penetanguishene. In 1952 excavation had revealed the foundations of a naval storehouse, a saw pit, a blacksmith's shop, and a slip for ship launching. More recently we located the site of Lieutenant W. H. Bayfield's dwelling while he surveyed Lake Huron in 1820 to 1823.

This summer we cleared the area of the storehouse and the old dock (part of which remains) of shrubs and weeds, and outlined walls of the building by bulldozing and by heavy posts. The site of Bayfield's house was similarily marked. At both of these sites plaques were erected in 1957 by the Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board.

The Officers' Quarters Museum, at the Military Establishment, one mile beyond the Naval Establishment, enjoyed a particularly successful season. Alterations restoring it to its original condition are underway, and one room is being furnished in period with funds donated by the John Labatt Company. The museum is under the direction of the University of Western Ontario and it is our aim to restore and refurnish it as it would have been when lived in by officers and their families in the late 1830's and 1840's.

In September we continued our investigation of the 1814 military route from Kempenfeldt Bay to Nottawasaga Bay. In 1955, we traced the Nine Mile Portage west from Barrie (Bulletin of the Museum, No. 11). This was used to transport military supplies from York to the mouth of the Nottawasaga River where vessels were loaded for the British fort at Michilimackinac. The western terminus of the portage was at Willow Creek, a tributary of the Nottawasaga. On the height of land above, the Commissary had built storehouses and accommodations for the men engaged in loading the bateaux and transporting the heavy supplies. The site came to be known locally as the "dump" and "old Willow Fort".

We were successful in locating nine building sites. We traced the wall lines in the soil and in most cases foundation stones marked the corners. Early nineteenth century findings consisted of military and naval buttons, gun flints, lead bullets, gun parts, broken china and glass, and an 1811 British coin. Most of these were recovered from an undisturbed cellar in one of the buildings. A brick kiln was discovered, and the clay pits located in an adjacent field. Some 150 feet of a timber palisade was traced on the edge of the promontory.

In March, 1959, "The Establishments at Penetanguishene, Bastion of the North, 1814 to 1856" by Elsie McLeod Jury, with Archaeological Report by Wilfrid Jury, was published as Number 12, Bulletins of the Museum, University of Western Ontario.

THE MILLER SITE - 1959

By Walter A. Kenyon[5]

During the fall of 1958, investigations at the Miller Site, Pickering, Ontario, disclosed several hundred feet of ancient palisading. This marked the southern periphery of a village occupied about 1,000 years ago by a pre-Iroquoian group called Glen Meyer.

Returning to the site about the middle of June 1959, we continued our irregular trenching operation in an attempt to determine the extent of the habitation area. Our plan was simply to follow the palisade until we had established the limits of the village. We approached the problem in this manner because it had been decided previously that the site was of sufficient importance to warrant its complete excavation. But before we could devise any realistic approach to this task, it was necessary to know the size of the settlement.

Following the palisade was not too difficult for the first few hundred feet. Gradually, however, the post-molds became less and less distinct along the western edge of the village. Possibly the fortification ended at this point; or more likely, we were simply unable to follow it in the extremely dry sand. Along the eastern edge of the village, meanwhile, we encountered a completely different problem. Here, probably because of a higher organic content in the soil, the ground was more moist, and post-molds were more easily detected. And they were everywhere. It soon became impossible to decide with any accuracy which post-molds were part of the palisade, and which were part of some other structure. However, with the aid of a group of high school students, we began to strip the humus from a large rectangular area to see if we could detect any pattern in what appeared to be a totally random distribution of post-molds. Slowly the cleared area increased. First it was a 50 x 50 foot square; then this was gradually extended to the west.

---

[5] Assistant Curator of Ethnology, The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Post-molds continued to appear as soon as we were below the old plough-line, but no discernible pattern emerged. Finally, however, a short line of post-molds was found, curving at both ends into the undug portion to the west. As we followed the line farther and farther, it became increasingly clear that we had at last found what we were searching for—the ground plan or outline of a Pre-Iroquoian house.

At this point, with excitement and enthusiasm at its peak, we reached the end of our financial resources. Funds ran out. This however, was not a unique situation for an archaeologist. Like research workers in so many other fields, the archaeologist has learned that he must—and can—rely on the interest and support of the community. This situation was no exception. Within a few days, Imperial Oil Ltd., had given us a very generous financial grant, Miller Paving Ltd., had supplied us with excellent cooking and dining facilities, and the Rover Scouts had volunteered to supply us with a larger working force. Additional aid was supplied by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. Professors T. F. McIlwraith and J. N. Emerson kindly agreed to use the Miller Site as the location for their annual "student dig".

As a result of this total effort, we excavated some 13,000 square feet of the site. In the process, we acquired enough data to build us a fairly complete picture of daily life in this ancient settlement.

Subsistence was based on a combination of agriculture and fishing, with hunting playing a definitely subsidiary role. The evidence is found in the large quantities of fish bones and charred corn that were found scattered about their hearths, and in the relative scarcity of bird and mammal bones. The first bones, kindly analysed by Dr. E. J. Crossman of the Museum, suggest that the inhabitants of the site caught their fish in some shallow bay, rather than in creeks. This would almost certainly be Frenchman's Bay, where the same aggregate of species is still found.

This raises an interesting question. Why, when they were so dependent upon fish which could only be taken in Frenchman's Bay, did they not move closer to the lake, instead of living almost four miles away? The answer, I believe, was found during the excavation of the site. First, the settlement is isolated, set well back even from Duffin's Creek. Second, the village was fortified. And finally, of a total of 24 bodies which were recovered, two had suffered obvious—and very painful—violence. One had been struck by an arrow on the left side of the rib-cage. The arrow had penetrated the body, lodged in the spine, and in all probability caused instant death. The other, a large powerful male, was struck between the shoulder blades by an arrow which also lodged in the spinal column. This individual, however, was more fortunate. Although the thin, narrow projectile point had shattered on impact, the arrow-shaft and most of the point were successfully removed. The tip, however, remained imbedded in the vertebrae. The fact that the bone had grown almost completely around the stone fragment indicates that the wound had healed successfully. A third body may also have suffered violence, but the evidence here is not conclusive. Such indications of violence, when combined with the isolated position of the village, and the fact that it was fortified, creates a clear picture of hostility. The group chose a remote spot for their settlement because isolation would decrease the probability of attack.

Within the village itself the people built large, multi-family dwellings. One of these, which was completely excavated last summer, was 57 feet long and 24 feet wide. In outline, it was a slightly flattened oval with a doorway at one end. To build such a house, the people would form an oval of long slender upright poles, each set into the earth to a depth of about twelve or fourteen inches. The tops would then be bent over and lashed together to form an arched roof. Although we have no direct data on the subject, it is a safe assumption, in the light of ethnographic data from later periods, that this structure was finally covered by slabs of bark.

Down the centre of the house we found a line of five hearths, probably used both for cooking and for heating. Associated with these hearths was a myriad of small, shallow post-molds. These formed no recognizable pattern, but their relationship to the hearths suggests that they were supports for something—possibly a vessel or a spit—which was suspended over the fire. Apart from the central fires and their associated post-molds, we found no evidence as to the internal arrangements of the house.

Excavation to date at the Miller Site has also provided us with a large assortment of the tools, weapons and personal ornaments that were in day to day use. Most numerous, of course, are broken pottery fragments, of which we have collected over 50,000 specimens. These are chiefly fragments of cooking and storage vessels, but included also were many pipe fragments and a few circular discs—probably counters for some game—made by grinding smooth the edges of potsherds. Also of pottery were two small marbles made by some woman hundreds of years ago for the amusement of her children. These modern-looking playthings again attest to the accuracy of Durant's observation—"The games of children are as ancient as the sins of their fathers".

Stone tools were plentiful, being mostly scrapers fashioned by retouching small, irregular flakes, but including also a number of arrow and spear points, a few adze-blades, and the whetstones (simple slabs of sandstone) on which the latter were shaped and sharpened. Bone was used for harpoons, and for a variety of awls. Most of these were fashioned from a splinter of mammal bone, but bird-bone was also employed.

Personal ornaments were fashioned from bone, shell, pottery, bear teeth and copper. The latter, float or drift copper such as is found in northern Ontario, was beaten cold to form small beads which, in one instance at least, were strung alternately with columella beads, formed from the central column of the conch. Pendants were made by cutting a shallow groove around the root of a bear canine-tooth, and by drilling a small hole through the end of some cone-shaped fresh-water (?) shell. Tubular pottery beads were formed by the simple expedient of grinding smooth the ends of broken pipe-stems. Of particular interest, among the ornaments, is the presence of the conch-shell, as this shows that the group either visited some coastal region or had trade relations with someone who did.

During our excavations, five graves were located and removed. Four of these were removed last summer and one previously. The five graves, containing a total of 24 bodies, were scattered throughout the area, three within the village and two outside. Mortuary customs may be described, then, as randomly scattered, multiple, secondary burials. At death, the body of the deceased was either buried or exposed. At a later date, the family or appointed persons would retrieve the bones, interring them in a mass grave at the appointed time and with an appropriate ceremony. This was a widespread custom in northeastern North America. It probably reached its peak among the Huron of the Georgian Bay area where the Jesuit Fathers describe a mass burial with its accompanying ceremony—The Feast of the Dead. Kenneth E. Kidd of the Museum, who excavated the early historic Huron ossuary at Ossossane, estimated that it contained the remains of 1,000 individuals.

At the Miller Site, we certainly found nothing so elaborate. But the presence of multiple, secondary burials there suggests that Huron burial customs developed out of the earlier Glen Meyer practices. These, in turn, probably originated with the need for assembling the tribe, clan or family of which the deceased was a member. Among most peoples, death is the occasion for more or less elaborate rituals. In our own culture, we assemble or notify the participating group by letter, telephone or telegraph. In a primitive community, however, these resources were not available; and in addition, the men of the group are apt to be widely dispersed throughout the countryside. With no way of assembling the group for a burial ceremony, they merely postponed it until such time as the people were gathered together for some other purpose. Meanwhile, the bodies of those who died at socially-inconvenient times were temporarily buried or exposed.

In summary, the Miller Site was occupied by a pre-Iroquoian group living in long, narrow multi-family dwellings within a palisaded village. They practiced agriculture—at least corn and tobacco were grown—but still depended to a large extent upon hunting and fishing, especially the latter. Pottery fragments from the site have not yet been analysed, but casual inspection reveals a number of technical features which are also found at Uren, the earliest known Iroquois site in Ontario. Burial customs—multiple, secondary inhumation—also indicate a relationship with the later Iroquois culture.

Available data suggest, then, that we are dealing with a developmental sequence, that Iroquois culture—or at least that segment of Iroquois culture occupying peninsular Ontario—was an indigenous growth, an elaboration of the earlier Glen Meyer culture.

CHARMSTONES IN THE OTTAWA VALLEY

By Clyde C. Kennedy[6]

Distinctive, man-made, stone objects known as "plummets" or "charmstones" are found in many parts of North America. Plummets, as they are most commonly called in eastern areas, vary in size and shape but they are usually either pear-shaped or similar in general form and size to the metal plumb-bob that hangs on the end of the string suspended below a land surveyor's instrument (transit).

Discoveries of plummets in Ontario are very rare and as far as I know none has been illustrated or mentioned in reports on archaeological sites in this province, nor are any from Indian sites in Canada on display in the Royal Ontario Museum. In his paper on the workshop sites near Tadoussac, Quebec, W. J. Wintemberg reported finding a single, pear-shaped plummet and showed a photograph of it.[7]

As plummet finds in Ontario and Quebec are so rare and as my enquiries have shown that these interesting artifacts are little known outside professional archaeological circles, it seems useful to present this preliminary note on six plummets found in the Ottawa Valley. Of course, the excavation of these plummets and the artifacts with them has the greater importance that they provide further evidence of relationships between primitive cultures in the Ontario-Quebec region and those in other regions of northeastern North America.

Various nomadic, non-agricultural peoples who did not possess clay pots have been placed archaeologically within what Walter Kenyon, assistant curator of ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum, has aptly termed "that long, hazy period known as the Archaic." For relatively little work has been done in Canada on the analysis of the tools and weapons of many of the Archaic peoples, but their artifacts are widely distributed throughout Ontario and Quebec. Among these artifacts are weights for spear-throwers (called "bannerstones"), gouges (probably used to make dugout canoes), slate blades and projectile points, adzes, and the curious plummets.

---

[6] Public Relations Officer, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, Chalk River, and Archaeologist, The Champlain Trail Museum, Pembroke.

[7] W. J. Wintemberg, "Artifacts from Ancient Workshop Sites Near Tadoussac, Saguenay County, Quebec", *American Antiquity,* VIII (4), 313.

During the 1958 season's work at the Morrison's Island Site near Pembroke at least two occupation levels had been distinguished.[8] The most recent occupants of the site had trade goods (iron awls, glass beads, brass pots) and the historical importance of these people (the "Algommequin" Indians visited by Samuel de Champlain during his journey of 1613 up the Ottawa River?) will be discussed in a forthcoming paper. Earlier occupants of the island were the Point Peninsula people who made decorated clay pots many hundreds of years ago. There was also evidence that an even earlier people had camped there, though this was not mentioned in the 1958 article for very little material had then been found.

Below the Point Peninsula occupation were found small deposits of flint chips, one plummet and some shattered rocks (probably used to boil water by heating them in a fire and then dropping them into skin or birchbark containers). Thus it was tentatively assumed in 1958 that we would find further traces of this earlier occupation and that it would prove to belong to the Archaic period, for plummets are not found among the artifacts of the Point Peninsula people.

There was considerable excitement, therefore, during the 1959 season on the island when we excavated two slate blades, hexagonal in cross section—types of blades found in the refuse deposits of at least some of the Archaic peoples. Four complete, sandstone plummets and an unfinished one were excavated after the blades had been found. Other materials in the same level were the base of a flint drill, a pitted hammerstone, a piece of sawed slate, 20 whetstones, and two stemmed, flint projectile points. It is possible that two or three of the pieces of sandstone that have been tentatively classified as whetstones are really parts of the wings of spear-thrower weights.

It is obvious that we have as yet found very little on which to base an "identification" of the nomadic, early people who made brief visits to the island, though I believe the artifacts are related to Archaic materials found elsewhere in the Ottawa Valley, such as gouges and adzes.

And there is at least a glimmering of a relationship between the earliest materials of the Morrison's Island Site and artifacts from Archaic sites such as those near Ellsworth Falls, Maine, for which radiocarbon dating gave ages of 3,000 to 4,200 years.[9] Douglas S. Byers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation, Andover, Massachusetts, concludes there are connections between the Ellsworth Falls Archaic and the "Red Paint culture", described by W. K. Moorehead.[10] The latter's extensive excavations revealed many burials that were distinctive not only because they contained red hematite, but also because the grave offerings included gouges, adzes, and plummets. But campsites of the Archaic people who probably made these cemeteries were not found until some years later and the discovery now of such campsites is of great interest.

---

[8] Clyde Kennedy, "On the Trail of Champlain", *Ontario History*, LI (1), Winter 1959, 50.

[9] Douglas S. Byers, "The Eastern Archaic: Some Problems and Hypotheses", *American Antiquity*, XXXIV (3), 233.

The Morrison's Island Site and some related sites in the Ottawa Valley suggest a relationship between the fairly early occupants of Ontario and Quebec and early peoples of the New England States, the Maritime Provinces, Labrador and New York.

What were the plummets used for? A variety of opinion has been expressed on this subject, ranging from use as weights on fishing lines to ceremonial uses. W. K. Moorehead concluded that plummets were charmstones: "The charmstone brought luck to the man in his pursuits of game on land and fish in the sea. But it was entirely too valuable a stone to attach to the cord and risk losing during fishing operations."[11] On the other hand, Dr. William A. Ritchie, State Archaeologist, New York State Museum, has pointed out that "Stone plummets found on some Laurentian sites are believed also to have formed part of the fishing equipment."[12]

The Morrison's Island plummets, which range in length from three to three and three-eighths inches, are either rounded or sub-rectangular in cross section. Each has at least one somewhat flattened side, and all but one (which was apparently broken while being pecked into shape, before the final smoothing with a whetstone began) have a groove close to one end, giving the appearance of a knob or head on that end. On the knob or head of three of the plummets is a notch (it is a notch rather than a groove). When these three plummets are placed in a horizontal position they look much like the turtles of today that sit sunning themselves, occasionally open-mouthed, on rocks offshore. Some of the plummets attributed to the "Red Paint culture" in Maine were obviously effigies, made in the shape of whales and porpoises. Perhaps those and the Morrison's Island plummets had a dual purpose—their shape had some magical significance and they were designed to be used as sinkers on fishing lines.

Participating in the digging were Murray Mathieson, secretary of The Ottawa Valley Historical Society and one of the founders of The Champlain Trail Museum in Pembroke (where some material from Morrison's Island is now on display); and Joseph H. Classey, a Pembroke high school history teacher who formerly worked at the Royal Ontario Museum and who dug with Kenneth Kidd at Fort Ste. Marie I. The helpful interest of the property owners, H. Smith and Dean R. Rogers, continued and their development plans are such that completion of the digging has been made possible. Dr. Jaan Terasmae and Robert Mott of the Geological Survey of Canada kindly visited the site and will provide geological interpretations for a paper that will contain detail that could not be presented in this limited space.

---

[10] W. K. Moorehead, *A Report on the Archaeology of Maine* (Andover, Mass., 1922).

[11] W. K. Moorehead, *The Stone Age in North America* (Cambrdge, Mass., 1910), 1, 431.

[12] William A. Ritchie, *Indian History of New York State, Part I: Pre-Iroquoian Cultures* (Albany, N.Y., 1953), 5.

PICTOGRAPH-RECORDING IN THE CANADIAN SHIELD

By Selwyn Dewdney[13]

For the third successive summer the pictograph-recording project, jointly sponsored by the Quetico Foundation and the Royal Ontario Museum, with the full co-operation of Ontario's Department of Lands and Forests and aided by a grant from the Quetico-Superior Wilderness Research Center in Minnesota, reports a rewarding and productive field season. The object, as in the past, has been to trace, measure, photograph and sketch the Indian paintings appearing on vertical shoreline rock faces throughout the Canadian Shield woodlands. Scale drawings and a number of water colour reproductions deposited in the Museum bring the three summers' total of recorded sites to seventy-eight, with over 800 separate symbols. Seventy-two of these sites are distributed across the Shield country of Ontario; the remainder are in northern Minnesota. As in former years the writer has been assisted by his son and wife. Thanks to the backing of the Parks Division of Lands and Forests and the co-operation of District Foresters across the province, forty-two sites were visited and recorded during 1959.

Evidence continues to point to a prehistoric origin for the great majority of these sites, though a serious attempt to solve the dating problem must await the accumulation of all available data. The few historical clues established a minimum age of over a century. Some sites, however, where the pigment seems as strong as on the day it was painted, are partly overgrown with lichen whose growth rates are known to be extremely slow under such unfavourable conditions, suggesting that the maximum age may well exceed the three or four centuries now postulated.

A vaguely-reported petroglyph site was found on Lake of the Woods, the carvings ranging from deep scratchings to hammered-out grooves, differing radically in style and content from those at the Nett Lake site in Minnesota, as well as from the petroglyphs recorded by Sweetman north of Peterborough. Such sites on horizontal outcroppings of bedrock are exceedingly difficult to spot but reports indicate that many more await re-discovery.

Thirty reported locations of other pictograph sites in Ontario await the field trip planned for the season of 1960. Others await recording in the Shield country farther west, and it is hoped that arrangements can be made whereby the project can be extended to Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

---

[13] Artist and writer of London, Ontario.

THE PUCKASAW PITS AND THE RELIGIOUS ALTERNATIVE

By J. Norman Emerson

During July and August I once again had the dubious, yet fascinating, pleasure of further investigating the stone structures at Red Sucker Point on the north shore of Lake Superior just west of Marathon, Ontario. The summer of 1958 had been occupied in identifying, mapping and test excavating seventy structures located upon the twenty-eight raised cobblestone beaches at this site. Cultural material was sparse to say the least. The summer of 1959 was devoted almost entirely to the excavation of a selected series of these structures with a view to increasing our artifact series and forming a broader basis upon which to assess the function of these pits. We hoped, if possible, to eliminate all but one of the various explanations which had been offered regarding the meaning and function of these stone structures.

What evidence is provided by the type and location of the structures? There are six basic types of structure—rectangular structures with walls, rectangular floors, Puckasaw pits, circular pits, circular floor, and crescent-shaped structures, also structures identified as small cairns and "post holes". We found there was a tendency for these to occur at different elevations and in association with particular beaches, apparently according to the following utilization patterns (we hesitate to say "settlement pattern") : The rectangular floors were largely confined to the uppermost beaches. The circular floor and Puckasaw pits were related to the intermediate and lower beaches. The rectangular structures were also related to the lower beaches. The circular pits were mainly to be found upon the lowest beaches and appeared to be adjuncts associated with the rectangular structures. There appears to be a transition in the type of structure from the upper to the lower beaches which also reflects a chronological sequence.

We consider the distribution of artifacts with dismay but also with interest. The findings were invariably sparse but a certain pattern was evident. The lower beaches and the rectangular structures inevitably produced a small sprinkling of pottery, flint chips (a few worked), clam shell and a few burned bone fragments. The intermediate beaches yielded no pottery but still provided a sprinkling of flint chips, shell, and a little bone. Beach 16 produced an Old Copper Culture projectile point *in situ*. The uppermost beaches produced *absolutely nothing*.

From the foregoing "archaeological context" what conclusions can be reasonably drawn? The following are suggested. At no point is there sufficient material to indicate a habitation site. Similarly, the absence of white man's goods appears to eliminate the theories of coureurs de bois and the rifle pits, and to establish the Indian character of the site. The absence of caribou bones and fish scales weighs against the theory that the site was used for hunting and fishing activity. The predominance of rectangular stone structures both at the upper and lower beach levels militates against Colin MacMillan's "bull-boat" theory as a complete explanation of the features encountered.

The chronology of the finds does make sense. The lower beaches which include pottery would have a maximum date of 3,500 years ago. The middle beaches which lack pottery would represent an earlier time. Beach 16 with the Old Copper point *in situ* would be some 5,000 years old. It is not surprising that nothing was found on the beaches above this because there would be very little to find during what must have been the Archaic Period. Beach 27 has been tentatively identified by visiting geologists from the University of Michigan as the Nipissing Beach, to which we might attribute a date of approximately 7,000 years ago. The one fact that is incontrovertible is that these beaches were utilized by man for some purpose or other for a minimum span of three thousand years.

In view of the lack of cultural material the writer subscribes to the vision-seeking hypothesis. Vision seeking was general among Woodland Indians such as the Ojibwa and Cree. They sought out isolated, desolate areas, usually high ground, to fast and meditate and commune with the supernatural. Such individuals went alone, in isolation. The desolate stone beaches of Red Sucker Point provide admirable conditions calculated to aid in stimulating hallucinatory visions. It is a locale of wild wind, thrashing waters, enveloping fog, crashing lightning and bone-drenching rain, a place of isolation and deprivation. And certainly there are plenty more favourable hunting, fishing, camping and habitation sites at many locations not too far distant. What other explanation than vision-seeking would account for the presence in such a place and for such long periods of time of men who left such meagre cultural evidences of their presence?

The investigation of the Puckasaw pit structures has been a trying experience. We cannot be certain we have solved the mystery but the foregoing explanation is the most reasonable alternative proposed thus far. The research was supported by grants from the Canada Council and the Province of Ontario. The work was carried out as a joint investigation by the National Museum of Canada and the University of Toronto, with Mr. Richard Pearson representing the former institution and Mr. James V. Wright the latter. Mr. Wallace Rice of the Archaeological Association of Quebec gave invaluable assistance during a month's stay. We are also very grateful to the Marathon Corporation for the continued aid through the special interest and consideration of Mr. Grant Ross, and for the constant help afforded us by Mr. Ron Powell of the Corporation's Woods Division.

RAINY RIVER PROJECT—1959

By Walter A. Kenyon

The presence of prehistoric burial mounds in the Rainy River District has been known for many years. In 1958, the Royal Ontario Museum excavated the remnants of a mound on Pither's Point at Fort Frances, and examined and photographed another well-known mound near Emo, about twenty miles down the river. During the same period, Dennis Christianson and Rod. Houska of Ranier, Minnesota, kindly showed us the location of another mound near the east end of Rainy Lake. Because the Museum plans to do further work on the mound-building cultures of the region, it was decided to conduct a survey last summer to determine the number, size and distribution of mounds prior to excavation.

So far, we have located, mapped or photographed seventeen different mounds on eight different sites scattered between the eastern end of Rainy Lake and the islands in the south-eastern portion of Lake of the Woods. From a number of people who live in the area, we have also received information as to the location of eighteen more sites which we have not yet had time to visit.

Although a final statement regarding the Rainy River Mounds can obviously not be presented till the work is completed, certain tentative conclusions may already be advanced. First, the mounds are all on—or very near—the banks of rivers or lakes, and they are usually, but not always, associated with ancient village sites. Second, the mounds were built by two different cultural groups, and over a very long period of time.

The earliest ones can be attributed to the Laurel Culture, and may be as much as 2,000 years old or even older. A good example of this type of mound is found on the north bank of Rainy River, overlooking Manitou Rapids. Rising seven and a half feet above the prevailing ground level, and 42 feet, 6 inches above the river, this mound is 72 feet in diameter at the base. During the fall of 1958 some small burrowing animal made its den in the mound, and during its tunneling, threw out a number of human, animal and bird bones, together with beaver and muskrat teeth, clam shells and Laurel type pottery fragments. These were carefully collected and kindly donated to the Museum by Mr. Tom Medecine, Emo, Ontario.

The later mounds, probably built by the Assiniboin, are generally lower and less obvious than the Laurel Mounds, but appear to be much more numerous. One of these was partially excavated last spring on what was formerly the Hungry Hall Reserve, near the mouth of Rainy River. This was a low mound, rising only two and a half feet above the prevailing ground-level, which had been partially eroded during a recent period of high water. Originally, it was probably circular, with a diameter of 63 feet. We cut a five foot trench through this mound, inland from the eroded edge and found that it had been built over a subterranean burial chamber with a log roof or covering. We will complete the excavation of this mound next summer. Meanwhile it is being carefully guarded against vandalism by Leland and Mary Badreau who own the property, and who kindly permitted us to excavate.

About the remaining mounds we know very little as yet. We do know, however, that they extend westward into Manitoba, and as far north as Minaki.

In size, some of the mounds are extremely impressive. The largest so far examined is 113 feet in diameter at the base, and rises 24 feet in height. Although we may safely assume that the people who erected this vast structure had a highly organized social and economic system, we still have no idea as to what that system might have been. The Museum feels, on the basis of presently available data, that it will take another five years of mapping and excavation to answer this question. This is admittedly a rather large project, but the importance of the Rainy River and Kenora Districts in the prehistory of Ontario and the Great Lakes region generally can hardly be overestimated. And in addition to this purely scientific consideration, the Rainy River mounds are probably the most spectacular monuments that were ever erected by Canada's prehistoric population.

ONTARIO ARCHAIC AND OUR NUCLEAR FUTURE

By Fritz Knechtel[14]

The advance of modern civilization sometimes entails as its corollary the destruction of prehistory. Archaeologists realize that they cannot halt progress and have even found it possible on occasion to work quite productively along with it. Professor Emerson demonstrated this at the Ault Park site where he worked in conjunction with the Robert Saunders Hydroelectric Power Dam development. In the not-too-distant future another opportunity of this kind will arise: the Candu project.

This atomic energy site will be located in an area of Bruce County where important archaic material is being turned up in some abundance. Red ochre burials are present: fire pits, fire stones, and a quantity of stone artifacts have been surface-collected. While it does not appear likely that the actual power plant will affect these sites, it is almost certain that the access roads, construction camp buildings, and sand pit excavations will do so. It would seem eminently reasonable, therefore, that archaeologists should be permitted to work along with the project engineers, salvaging valuable prehistoric material before it is destroyed. Recovering such material is of vital importance because of all the archaeological time periods in Ontario, the Archaic has received the least amount of investigation. It is greatly to be hoped that one or other of the active archaeological groups in the province will see fit to include the Candu project as part of their emergency salvage operations. Such an enlightened programme would constitute an important and useful contribution to a knowledge of Ontario's prehistoric past.

---

[14] Of Hanover, Ontario. Member of the Ontario Archaeological Society.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By William S. Donaldson[15]

Although The Ontario Archaeological Society sponsored no field work of its own this year, supervisory staff was provided for the joint Royal Ontario Museum—University of Toronto student "dig" near Pickering, and many of our members were active on sites throughout the province and abroad. Two of these, Frank Ridley and Paul Sweetman, had the unique opportunity of visiting archaeological sites behind the "bamboo curtain" as part of a cultural exchange programme with the People's Republic of China. A high point in their journey was a visit to the caves at Choukoutien, where work is still in progress on recovery of the remains of Sinanthropus pekingensis.

The emphasis was on laboratory work in 1959. Enthusiasm again overcame the lack of proper facilities and much of the material recovered over the last few years has now been cleaned and catalogued. A colour slide record has been made of the artifacts from the Robb site, an early Iroquoian village in the Rouge River area, and a report written on the much later occupation in the Boyd Conservation Area, Woodbridge.

Work done in the laboratory seldom receives the publicity that excavations do in the public press, yet it is no less exciting, and certainly just as important. Here the material recovered during excavation is sorted and evaluated, and notes are prepared for publication of a site report. These "labs" also provide a training ground for our newer members. By cleaning and cataloguing the specimens, they soon become familiar with the various materials recovered and begin to appreciate the need for careful excavating techniques. Seemingly insignificant items such as charred food remains or broken bits of pottery are found to be important in determining the cultural pattern and date of the site. Skeletal material provides clues to the origin, health, and eating habits of the inhabitants, while features such as soil stains and concentrations of artifacts, so carefully measured and recorded in the field notes, are now plotted on a master plan to reveal house patterns and the layout of the site.

This practical training is occasionally supplemented by special courses, usually conducted by professionals within the group. One of these, Dr. J. E. Anderson of the University of Toronto, is presently conducting a course in bone recognition. Here our members are learning to recognize

---

15. President of the Ontario Archaeological Society.

and describe the various bones encountered on Indian sites and to know which are normal and which are pathological. This knowledge will be put to good use next spring when work is resumed on a series of early Iroquoian sites in the Rouge River area.

Advances were made in other fields of endeavour. On May 30, a joint meeting was held in Toronto with the Morgan Chapter of The New York State Archaeological Association. Displays of artifacts from both sides of the border contributed much to the success of this meeting at which papers were presented on the general theme of Iroquoian archaeology.

At its annual meeting, held in Albany, N.Y., on November 7 and 8, the Eastern States Archaeological Federation accepted an invitation from the Ontario Archaeological Society to hold its 1960 meeting in Toronto next October 29 and 30. This is the first time in its 27-year history that such a meeting has been held outside the United States and will coincide with the tenth anniversary of our society.

Since its formation in 1950 as an outgrowth of a series of Royal Ontario Museum extension courses conducted by Dr. J. N. Emerson of the University of Toronto, the Society has sought to encourage scientific research and public interest in Ontario's prehistory. It is gratifying to see the progress made in this regard during our first decade of existence.

THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1960

Members are reminded of this summer's annual meeting being held in Kitchener, Thursday to Saturday, June 23, 24, 25th, at which our hosts will be the Waterloo Historical Society. While it is still too early to report on the programme and other details we have been assured that an enjoyable and instructive meeting is in prospect.

Notices containing full details of programme, registration and accommodation facilities will be mailed in due course to members of the Society and will be published in the next issue of *Ontario History*. We urge everyone to keep the date June 23-25 in mind and make plans to attend the Annual Meeting.

A PIONEER ABOLITIONIST IN UPPER CANADA

By Fred Landon

When Benjamin Lundy, pioneer American abolitionist, visited Upper Canada in January, 1832, it was with a definite purpose in mind, namely, "to obtain correct information respecting the situation, climate, soil, the present prospects of the colored settlers, etc., etc., with a view of publishing an accurate statement thereof, as extensively as possible, for the benefit of that oppressed and persecuted race in the United States".[1] This publicity he at once provided in subsequent issues of his little newspaper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, where an account of his Canadian journey appeared in the numbers for March, April and May, 1832.[2] Announcement had been made in an earlier issue that one Hezekiah Grice, a Baltimore colored man, was preparing for early publication a map of Upper Canada which would distinctly mark "the location and particular boundaries of the extensive tract which is offered for the settlement of the colored people and also designate the various routes that lead to it from the United States". This map was to be sold for twenty-five cents a copy.

That Lundy should undertake such a journey, in the middle of a Canadian winter and entirely at his own expense, indicates the measure of his devotion to the cause to which he was giving the best years of his life. That a map should be in preparation showing to Negro fugitives the routes to this promised land of freedom indicates that Upper Canada, lying just over the international boundary, was already in the minds of many who had known slavery and had escaped, or hoped to escape, from its degradation.

Migration to Canada of escaped slaves from the South had been going on for some years before Lundy visited the British province. American soldiers returning from service during the War of 1812 told of this country to the north, of its well-watered lands, its forests and other resources and, what was of greatest interest to the Negro, that in this land there was no slavery. Soon runaway slaves were heading for that happy country and by the time that Lundy came there were already in the province several scattered communities of colored folk. In his narrative Lundy speaks of such settlements as situated near Lake Simcoe, on the Grand River above Brantford, on the Thames River around Chatham, and at Malden (Amherstburg) on the Detroit River. He apparently knew about these colonies when he entered Upper Canada but limited his visit on this occasion to one that had been established to the north of the present city of London and to which had been given the name of the great English humanitarian, William Wilberforce. The Wilberforce colonists were themselves not runaway slaves but mostly freedmen from the vicinity of Cincinnati, Ohio, who had left the state because of a threatened enforcement of repressive Black Laws.

---

[1] *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, March, 1832.

[2] Reprinted with introduction and notes by Fred Landon in Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, Vol. XIX (1922), 110-33.

Ohio legislation of 1804 and 1807 had required from all Negroes residing in the State a certificate of freedom issued by a United States court. No one might employ a Negro lacking such certificate and harbouring or hiring such a one was punishable by a fine. In 1807 it was ordained that no Negro might settle in the state without providing a bond of $500 for his good behaviour. The fine for concealing a Negro, which had earlier been $50, was now doubled. No Negro might give evidence against a white man. Later legislation in 1830 made the Negro ineligible to serve in the militia and in 1831 it was ordained that no person of color might serve on a jury.[3]

When possible enforcement of unjust laws made their whole future uncertain the people of color, already knowing something of the freedom accorded their race in Upper Canada, sent two men, James C. Brown and Stephen Dutton, to the provincial capital at York (Toronto) to interview the British authorities and find out if they could receive asylum. Brown has left an account of the favorable reception which the deputation received when they met Sir John Colborne, the lieutenant-governor. Tradition has it that his reply was: "Tell the Republicans on your side of the line that we Royalists do not know men by their color. Should you come to us you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of His Majesty's subjects".[4]

Following upon the favorable report of their agents the Ohio freedmen entered into negotiations with the Canada Company, an English concern which had bought a large acreage of Upper Canada for speculative purposes. These lands included a large area in the western section of the province in which are today the populous counties of Perth and Huron. The purchase made by the migrants from Ohio was in the present township of Biddulph, on the border of Huron County though today a part of Middlesex County. Labour which they gave in the opening of roads through the Company's holdings was to be credited in part payment for the lands which they received. Brown and Dutton, the men who had waited upon the authorities at York, were among the first to receive deeds to land in Biddulph township.

There is evidence that the earlier settlers were aided financially by Quaker sympathizers in the United States and had help from other sources. Lundy had been acquainted with the migration as early as 1830 for in

---

[3] See Laws of Ohio, Vol. II, 63 and Vol. V., 53.

[4] See Benjamin Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery* (Boston, 1856), 244-5, for Brown's report of his reception. Also, *Colonial Office Records*, Series Q, Vol. 386, Part 1, No. 37, a letter of Sir John Colborne in which he says of the original Negro settlers that they possessed sufficient means to be able to establish themselves on the land and that at the time of their first appearance they were favourably received.

The Genius of May of that year he makes reference to the visit of the two representatives to York and records the satisfactory reception which they received. It was natural, therefore, that he should later visit this colony and gain his own impressions of its prospects.

Benjamin Lundy was forty-three years of age when he entered Upper Canada and had already been active in the anti-slavery movement since 1815 so that he ranks as one of the pioneers in the crusade. He was born in Hardwick, Sussex County, N.J., in 1789, the son of Quaker parents, and when nineteen years old removed to Wheeling, Va. There he had his first view of slavery as he saw coffles of slaves being taken through the streets of the town. Later he removed to St. Clairsville, Ohio, where he founded an anti-slavery society known locally as the Union Humanitarian Society. Beginning with a mere handful of members it grew within a few months to have a membership of nearly five hundred. In 1816 Lundy issued a small circular signed "Philo Justicia" which Horace Greeley speaks of in his *American Conflict* as "containing the germ of the entire anti-slavery movement".

A more ambitious effort was the beginning of publication by Lundy of his little paper *The Genius of Universal Emancipation.* The first number appeared at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in January, 1821, but was shortly transferred to Greeneville in Tennessee. Three years later it was moved to Baltimore, Maryland, the first issue of Volume IV appearing there in October, 1824. Hitherto *The Genius* had been a monthly but from 1825 to 1830 it was issued weekly. In 1830 the monthly issue was resumed, Washington then being the nominal place of publication until 1834 when Philadelphia became its headquarters and continued as such until 1836, being the last issues from an eastern source. The paper did not disappear, however, for when Lundy removed to Illinois in 1837 he resumed publication, eleven numbers of Volume XVI appearing before his death came at Lowell, Illinois, on August 22nd, 1839.[5] He was then in his fifty-first year. The final issue, appearing after his death and numbered 316, contained a simple but eloquent tribute to the man. It bore the signature "The Printer".

Lundy's journey to Upper Canada in 1832 was not the first he had made in his search for a land where the people of color might find homes, freedom and protection. During his residence in Baltimore he had twice visited Haiti, being interested in the possibilities of the island as a place to which manumitted slaves might be sent. On his return from the island in 1825 he found that his wife had died during his absence and that his family was scattered.

"I collected my children together", he wrote, "placed them with friends in whom I could confide and renewed my vow to devote my energies to the cause of the slave . . . I relinquished every prospect of the future enjoyment of an earthly home until this object should be accomplished".

---

[5] See Fred Landon, "Benjamin Lundy in Illinois", *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (March 1940).

There is no more pathetic incident in Lundy's career than this return to a broken home and no more noble passage in his writings than this prompt re-dedication of himself to the "unfinished work" which lay before him. In carrying out his vow he journeyed again to Haiti in 1829, to Texas in 1831, to Upper Canada in 1832, to Texas once more in 1833 and for a third time in 1834.[6]

Lundy crossed the Niagara River from Lewiston to Queenston, Upper Canada, on the morning of Friday, January 13th, 1832, and began the journey westward to Wilberforce which would be made by stage as far as London. To observe more closely the country through which he would pass Lundy took his stand with the driver on the front of the vehicle which, because of the snow, was on runners. He arrived at Hamilton in the evening and spent the night there. He noted among other things the considerable number of Americans among the settlers in the country through which he had passed on his first day in Canada but he makes no mention of seeing any Negroes.

There was opportunity to walk about the village of Hamilton before the hour for departure arrived next morning. A few hours ride, as before on the outside of the coach with the driver, brought Lundy to the village of Brantford. Here he observed the presence of numerous Indians and also some Negroes, the first he had seen since entering Canada. Here, as elsewhere, Americans were numerous and he noted that they had the familiar prejudice of their countrymen against the colored race. He learned that there was a settlement of colored people north of the village bearing the name Woolwich. Lundy spent the night in Brantford, disturbed but little, he says, by the noise of the tavern bar-room beneath his own room where, he learned later, there had been quite a "fracas" during the evening. The next day being a Sunday he was delayed in his journey.

The stage set out early on Monday morning, the 16th, "in the direction of Detroit". The weather which until now had been mild had turned cold and frosty but the snow was light and the sleighing poor. The country was now more thinly settled. After thirty miles of travelling a short halt was made at Beachville post-house. Here Lundy noted better farms and dwellings. He was nearing the Thames River with its beautiful stands of pine and other trees. In the evening the stage arrived at a tavern kept by Hiram Martin, sixty miles from Brantford and three miles southwest of the village of London. Lundy had spent the whole day outside with the driver observing the character of the country through which he passed. The weather had warmed up during the day and by evening the snow was melting.

---

[6] See Merton L. Dillon, "Benjamin Lundy in Texas", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. LXIII, No. 1 (July, 1959), 46-62.

London village was as far as the stage would carry Lundy to his destination. From London he would have to walk to the edge of the Wilberforce colony, a distance of twelve to fifteen miles, since there was no conveyance. He was early on his way to the village after a night's rest at the Martin tavern and by mid-morning was headed north through heavy soft snow covering the primitive roads. By mid-afternoon he had arrived at the home of Elder Benjamin Paul, a colored preacher of the Baptist faith who sometimes also served white Welsh settlers living in London township to the south. Lundy stayed over night with Paul and in the morning went farther north to the cabin of Austin Steward where he remained for the next two days, visiting and interviewing various settlers and gaining all possible information about the prospects of the colony. Steward, whose autobiography is the best source of information on the settlement, was from Rochester and had left his home and business to render what guidance and assistance he could to the newcomers from Ohio. He had made a considerable sacrifice in coming to Wilberforce and continued his residence there until January, 1837, when he returned a much poorer man to Rochester. At Wilberforce he had been the president of the board of managers providing local government of the colony. His narrative was first published at Rochester in 1856 and went into a second edition three years later.[7] The book contains an interesting account of Lundy's visit.

In January, 1832, when Lundy was there, the Wilberforce settlement numbered about thirty-two families with an average of five individuals each. Many more had visited the place but had gone elsewhere seeking work. Twenty-five families had purchased land from the Canada Company and most of them had done some clearing and built log cabins. There were about 200 acres cleared and some sixty acres sown with wheat. There was also some live stock, cattle, pigs and horses. There were sawmills and a grist mill within reasonable distance of the settlement which could serve their needs. Two schools had been opened, one of which was taught by a daughter of Elder Benjamin Paul and which had some white children children in attendance. Religious services of both the Baptist and Methodist faiths were held and a Sunday school was conducted during the warmer months. Local administration was in the hands of the Board of Managers.

Plans had been made for the establishment at Wilberforce of a seminary where more advanced education might be provided and to this end agents had been sent to both England and the United States to solicit funds. Rev. Nathaniel Paul, a brother of Elder Benjamin Paul, had already gone to England while the American canvass was in the hands of one Israel Lewis. The results were unfortunate. Nathaniel Paul collected about six hundred dollars for education and also other sums from interested individuals but none of it reached Wilberforce. Though not dishonest Paul lacked any business sense. Israel Lewis, on the other hand, appears from all the accounts, to have been both dishonest and a troublemaker. The most interesting experience of Nathaniel Paul while in England was his appearance in June, 1832, before a select committee of the House of Commons to give evidence with respect to the colored inhabitants of Upper Canada. The committee, which was presided over by the Rt. Hon. Sir James Graham, had been set up to consider measures which were to be considered by Parliament for the extinction of slavery in British possessions overseas and included some of the foremost Parliamentary figures of the day.

---

[7] Austin Steward, *Twenty years a slave and forty years a freeman.* 2nd. edition. Rochester, 1859.

Before his departure from Wilberforce on January 20th Lundy met with most of the male adults of the community in a public meeting where he added further to his knowledge of the settlement. Then he set out for London but had only gone four miles when night approached and he sought shelter with an Irish settler named Henry O'Neal. Lundy says that his host was friendly to the colored people and warmly approved the object of his visit. O'Neal had a colored man named Williams working for him with whom Lundy had had acquaintance in Baltimore. He was treated, says Lundy, "precisely as though he were white".

On the following morning O'Neal insisted on driving Lundy about ten miles toward London so that he arrived in the village before noon. He spent the afternoon in looking about the village and taking note of its inhabitants and their occupations. His notes were included in the printed record of his journey and provide us today with the earliest description that we have of the village. At night he went back to the Hiram Martin tavern to await the morning stage. This he boarded once more on the morning of the 22nd., taking his place as before on the outside with the driver. He arrived at Detroit on the evening of the 23rd., his journey having occupied ten days. Summing up his experiences and observations, Lundy had this to say about the Wilberforce experiment in Negro colonization:

> From every investigation I have been able to make and all the information I could obtain by frequent conversation and inquiry among many intelligent persons, both those who were friendly and those who were inimical to our colored people, that the country in question will be very suitable for them, particularly those north of the Carolinas, if they choose to locate themselves therein. The same rights and privileges will be guaranteed to them as to other British subjects and many of the white inhabitants of the republic have voluntarily exchanged their citizenship here for the immunities they may there enjoy. I would not urge, I would not ask a single free man to go, who is not so disposed. My business is to give him information. If he can profit by it I shall rejoice. If he neglects to pay attention to it he does but exercise a perfect right which it would be highly improper for me to question him about. Believing, however, that there are many among the persecuted colored people south of the Delaware who are extremely desirous to change their situation, and would be glad of such information as I have collected, I shall be amply rewarded for the hard-

> ship and expense of my cold and toilsome journey, if I can be successful in laying it, generally before them.

Any reader of the original narrative of the journey in Upper Canada will recognize the practical character of the report which Lundy made and published. His observations on the climate, soil, timber and other features of a country which he was visiting for the first time are remarkably accurate and answer such questions as might be asked by a prospective settler. Knowing that colored settlers would come from a warmer climate he had much to say about weather conditions as he himself experienced them and he included in his report a statement of temperatures at Wilberforce during the month of December, 1831, compiled by Austin Steward. During the month there had been but one real drop below zero while on moist days the tempterature had ranged between 15 and 25 degrees with winds from the south and west.

Lundy has had but one published biography which appeared from the pen of Thomas Earle in 1847 and has never been republished. Most of Lundy's correspondence and papers was lost in the fire which destroyed Pennsylvania Hall on the night of May 8, 1838.

> Well, [he wrote after this event] my papers, books, clothes—everything of value (except my journal in Mexico, etc.) are all, all gone—a total sacrifice on the altar of Universal Emancipation. They have not yet my conscience, they have not taken my heart, and until they rob me of these they cannot prevent me from pleading the cause of the suffering slave . . . I am not disheartened, though everything of earthly value (in the shape of property) is lost. Let us persevere in the good cause. We shall assuredly triumph yet.

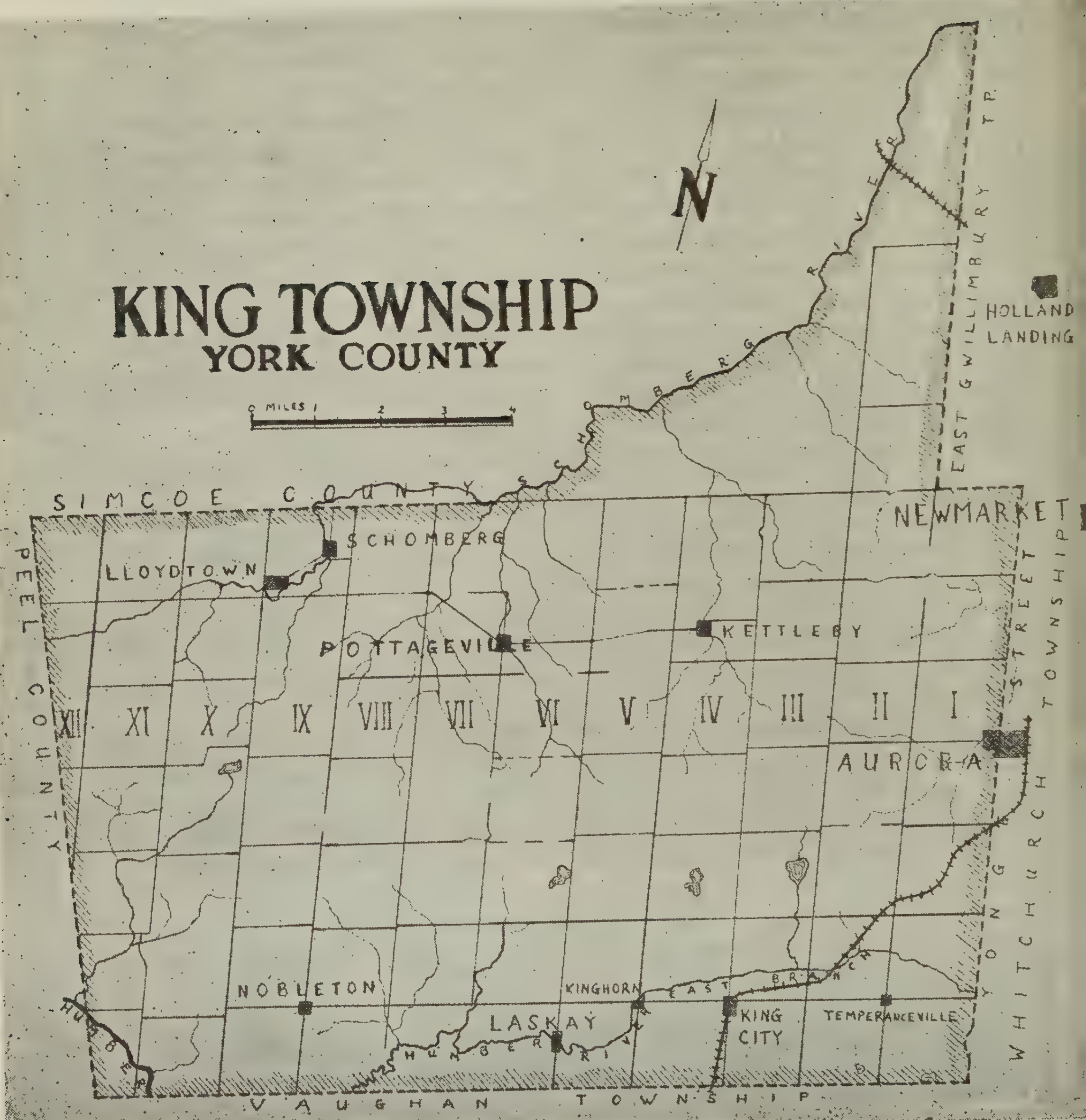
Lundy had one more year of life. He removed to Illinois early in 1839 and there resumed publication of *The Genius* of which twelve numbers appeared prior to his death on August 22, 1839.[8]

When the centenary of Lundy's death came in the summer of 1939 suitable observance was made at the grave by members of the Society of Friends and the State of Illinois placed a bronze pillow suitably inscribed beside the plain little marble stone at the head of the grave.

Von Holst, the historian, has said of Lundy that he was the immediate precursor, and in a certain sense the founder of abolitionism and he adds the tribute that "the nineteenth century can scarcely point to another instance in which the command of Christ to 'leave all things and follow Him' was so literally fulfilled".

---

[8] Copies of all of these twelve numbers except the first are preserved in the library of the Chicago Historical Society.


KING TOWNSHIP
YORK COUNTY
0 MILES 1 2 3 4
N
SIMCOE COUNTY
PEEL COUNTY
SCHOMBERG RIVER
EAST GWILLIMBURY TP.
HOLLAND LANDING
NEWMARKET
WHITCHURCH TOWNSHIP
YONGE STREET
SCHOMBERG
LLOYDTOWN
POTTAGEVILLE
KETTLEBY
XII
XI
X
IX
VIII
VII
VI
V
IV
III
II
I
AURORA
NOBLETON
KINGHORN
LASKAY
KING CITY
TEMPERANCEVILLE
EAST BRANCH
HUMBER RIVER
HUMBER
VAUGHAN TOWNSHIP

KING TOWNSHIP, YORK COUNTY, 1800-1867: A HISTORICAL SKETCH

By Mary E. Garbutt*

King Township, located in the extreme northwestern corner of York County, is bounded by Vaughan, Whitchurch and East Gwillimbury Townships of York County, by the Holland River and Simcoe County, and by Albion Township of Peel County. Named after John King, a friend of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe and Joint-Undersecretary of State with Evan Nepean,[1] King is the largest township in York County with an area of 88,014 acres. It was first surveyed by Stegman in 1800 and afterwards by Callighan (1836-38), Ryan (1850) and Whelock (1859) in the form of twelve concessions running parallel to, and west of, Yonge Street. The twelfth line is incomplete, being cut off by the boundary of Peel County. When the County of Simcoe was created in 1851 King was enlarged by the inclusion of the "Old Survey" or "North King", heretofore part of West Gwillimbury. This addition consisted mainly of Holland River marshland, so that for many years the area added little to King's total population.[2] Only in recent times has the district been drained and thereby transformed into one of Canada's most productive market gardening sections.

The settlement of King Township has been greatly influenced by the varying types of soil to be found there. A little more than one-eighth of the total area—principally the marshes of the Holland River system—is composed of peat soils left from the alluvial plain of the old Lake Algonquin. Another one-eighth consists of the hilly ridge marking the watershed between Lake Ontario and the Lake Simcoe drainage, the soil being characteristically light sand and gravelly clay. The remainder, nearly three-quarters of the entire area, possesses clay and clay-loam soils which are excellent for agriculture.[3] Originally the present township was almost completely covered by forests, mainly white pine, but since its first settlement it has been so thoroughly denuded of forest that only 4.9 per cent of its area remained in woods by 1938. The consequence of this deforestation has been that much of the land has been badly eroded and many of the streams which in early times supported mills became almost completely dried out. The same survey of 1938 disclosed that only thirty of an original 200 miles of permanent stream remained.[4]

---

* This article was prepared by the author as part of her work in a seminar course on The History of Old Ontario to 1867, conducted in 1959-60 by Professor J. M. S. Careless in the Department of History, the University of Toronto.

[1] *Newmarket Era and Express*, February 11, 1954.

[2] *History of Toronto and County of York* . . . (Toronto, C. B. Robinson, 1885), I, 134-36.

[3] Mayall, K. M. *Natural Resources of King Township* (Toronto, 1938), 15.

[4] *Ibid.*, 26.

Incidentally, the township is drained primarily by the Humber River flowing south to Lake Ontario and by the west branch of the Holland River (now known as the Schomberg River) which drains northeastward into Lake Simcoe. There are also a number of small moraine lakes on the southern edge of the ridge that forms the watershed.

In pre-settlement times the portage route between the Humber and Holland River systems crossed the township, leaving the Humber from a point southeast of the modern village of Nobleton, running northeast to a place slightly north of Hackett Lake, where the trail crossed what is now the sixth concession road, then continued north until it reached the west branch of the Holland River. Traces of Indian camps have been found all along this trail and it was well known to the French voyageurs. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe and his party traversed this route in 1793 and camped just north of the junction of the north and west branches of the Holland River.[5] The following year Simcoe began construction of Yonge Street which was to serve as the future link between Lake Ontario and Lake Simcoe. This road was to form the eastern boundary of the township and over it travelled most of its settlers. Yonge Street also forged a strong and permanent link between the township and the provincial capital at York.

In 1800, when Stegman completed the first survey of King Township, there were twenty residents, some of whom had arrived through the woods by way of the present Kleinburg, others by way of Yonge Street.[6] An abortive attempt had already been made to settle French émigrés under the leadership of the Comte de Puisaye in the Oak Ridges region of Yonge Street, and a town known as Windham was laid out at the junction of King, Vaughan, Markham and Whitchurch Townships. The émigrés were given generous grants of land but such as ventured forth found life in the wilderness completely insupportable, particularly after their servants deserted them, and they drifted back to England and eventually to France.[7] One exception was a certain Quetton St. George, a man of bourgeois antecedents who eventually became a prosperous Toronto merchant, and whose son maintained an estate, Glenlonely, near Lake Wilcox in Whitchurch Township.[8]

The first settlers to establish themselves permanently in King were Quakers. In 1800 Timothy Rogers of Vermont brought a group of Quakers to Yonge Street near the present town of Newmarket, to lands in King and Whitchurch Townships. Other Quakers, many of them from the Lycoming valley of Pennsylvania, joined this group. By 1804 a Yonge Street Meeting of the Society of Friends had been formed and preliminary arrangements were made to establish a school with Timothy Rogers, Junior, as the teacher. By 1806 land was purchased for a burying-ground, and books and equipment were secured for the school. By 1810 a permanent meeting house, which still stands, was built, and for over a decade —until the Presbyterians erected a church in Richmond Hill in 1821—it remained the only house of worship on Yonge Street north of York Mills.[9] In 1816 a circulating library was operating among the Yonge Street Friends. Some of the early settlers were the Doane, Armitage, Rogers and Hillborn families. It was from this Yonge Street Meeting that David Willson withdrew to found his own sect and build the Temple of the Children of Peace at Sharon. Quakers also settled portions of the township west of Yonge Street, about Kettleby, Lloydtown and Brownsville.[10] In 1816 a Monthly Meeting was founded on the ninth concession near Brownsville, and this group also conducted a school for the children of Friends in the district. At a time when there were virtually no schools or churches outside the largest centres in Upper Canada, the Quakers of King Township had provided themselves with meeting houses, schools, and a lending library. The school on Yonge Street was abandoned in 1833 and the children began to attend the local common school.[11]

---

[5] Robinson, P.J. *Toronto During the French Regime* (Toronto, 1943), map following page 254.

[6] Mayall, K.M., *op. cit.*, 10.

[7] See Textor, Lucy. *A Colony of Emigres in Canada, 1798-1816* (Toronto, 1905).

[8] *York County Scrapbook Number 1*, in Provincial Archives of Ontario [hereafter referred to as PAO], 67. These scrapbooks consist of undated clippings believed to have been taken from the *Aurora Banner* around the years 1938 to 1940. Many of the articles appear to have been written by the late J. M. Walton and some of these were collected and published separately in the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Story of Kettleby.*

On March 6, 1809, the first township meeting, held in a home near Lloydtown, chose the following officials: township clerk, William Haines; township wardens, William Kennedy and John Nichol; assessors, Jacob Hollingshead and William Hughes; tax collector, William Tyler; overseers of the public roads, Henry Harman, Thomas Taylor and Rufus Rogers. At the meeting it was agreed that all lawful fences should be five feet high, the first two feet to have the rails not more than four inches apart, and the others not more than six inches apart, except riders or top rails, which might not exceed fifteen inches. A peculiar early bylaw stated that "hogs shall be free commoners" of the township. Later that same month a township census was taken which disclosed that 33 heads of families, a total of 160 persons, were resident in the area.[12]

Even though King was opened at quite an early date and most of its area was highly suited to agriculture it was not till well into the 1820's that it began to attract any considerable settlement. The first portions to be occupied tended to be along Yonge Street and then northwestward towards Kettleby and Lloydtown. But much of the land had been granted to Loyalists (or more frequently, to the sons and daughters of Loyalists) who lived in other districts of Upper Canada and did not settle their King grants. The Loyalist families who did come to the township lived on scattered lots and did not settle in blocks, as in some of the older sections.[13] Some land was held by speculating officials, although this was not so much the case in King as in the neighboring township of Vaughan. The prevalence of clergy reserves, here as elsewhere, served to discourage settlers as long as other good land could readily be secured. And King, which was only surveyed in 1800, had more than its share of reserved land. Later, however, clergy reserves became more sought after as good free grants became scarce and as the sons of the original settlers began to desire additional land near the family farm.

---

[9] *Richmond Hill Presbyterian Church—Souvenir—Centennial Celebration, 1817-1917* (Richmond Hill, 1917).

[10] See Trewhella, Ethel Willson. *The Yonge Street Quakers* (Aurora, 1937). The *Newmarket Era and Express* in May 1949 also published four articles on the life of Job Hughes, an early Quaker preacher.

[11] *York County Scrapbook Number 1,* 179.

[12] *History of Toronto and County of York, I,* 138-39.

Poor transportation was another factor retarding the development of a district like King that was remote from the navigable waterways and had to await the improvement of road facilities, particularly Yonge Street. However, as the roads were improved, settlers began to enter the township in increasing numbers. In August 1825 Lewis Bapp advertised in *The Gazette and Weekly Register* that he had commenced operating a light covered wagon for the accommodation of travellers on a twice-weekly service between York and Holland Landing. In 1828 the Yonge Street stage was launched and by 1833 was offering a daily service. Finally, by the late forties, Yonge Street was macadamized as far as Holland Landing.[14] Paralleling these improvements in communications was a noticeable upsurge in the settlement of the township. As we have seen, there were 160 souls in 1809, the year of the first township meeting. In 1811 this had risen to 206 persons and to 226 in 1812; but by 1818 the population, probably in consequence of the War, had fallen to 209 inhabitants. By 1823 there were 394 residents, by 1842 the total stood at 2,625, and in 1850 settlers numbered 5,574. To carry the record forward, we should note that the population continued to increase till in the 1871 census it stood at 7,482.[15] Afterwards, in common with most of rural Ontario, the population began to decline, until in 1936 there were only 4,636 persons resident in King.[16] Since the Second World War with the flight from Toronto to the suburbs the population has risen quite rapidly, and the latest figure, for 1959, is 11,621 residents.

With the passing years the character of the population began to alter. The majority of early settlers had been Americans, but increasingly the new arrivals came from Britain. As illustration one might mention the Scottish-born Thomas Ferguson who settled on lots 4 and 5 on the second concession in 1826, or Joseph Baldwin, a Yorkshireman, who came to lot 3 of the fifth concession in 1832. At the same time a high proportion of the increase during the 1840's and 1850's must be attributed to the large number of second-generation residents. Thus the marriage register of the Reverend James Adams, a King Township Presbyterian minister of the late fifties and sixties, records that most of the brides and bridegrooms had been born in the township.[17] In the period of decline that set in after 1871 many of the children of these couples were to leave King for Toronto, the prairie provinces, or the United States.

---

[13] Guillet, E.C. *Pioneer Life in the County of York* (Toronto, 1946), 41.

[14] Glazebrook, G.P. deT. *History of Transportation in Canada* (Toronto, 1938), 142.

[15] *History of Toronto and County of York*, I, 138.

[16] Mayall, K.M., *op. cit.*, 10.

During the hectic years of political unrest that preceded the Rebellion of 1837 the township shared in the general excitement and unrest. Since many of the features that inspired the agitation—lands held for speculation and as clergy reserves, inadequate local roads, religious non-conformity—were present in King to a high degree, it is not surprising that Lloydtown, in the northern part of the township near the tenth concession line, should have been a veritable hotbed of reform sympathy.

Jesse Lloyd, the founder of Lloydtown, was a Pennsylvania Quaker who in 1812 built a grist mill on the west branch of the Holland River and a saw mill in 1826, and also became a prosperous landowner. In 1831 Lloydtown was the first settlement in the township to receive a post office. In the same year the Quaker Meeting expelled Jesse Lloyd from the Society because of his association in political meetings with William Lyon Mackenzie of York and Samuel Lount of Holland Landing. By the spring and summer of 1837 Lloydtown men were drilling regularly under the guise of turkey hunts, and on August 5 a large meeting at Lloydtown was addressed by Mackenzie, Lloyd, Lount and David Gibson. A week before the actual outbreak Mackenzie visited Lloydtown and appointed Lount and Captain Anthony Anderson to direct the military phase of the rising. The outcome was to be Anderson's death in the struggle, Lount's execution, and Lloyd's flight to the United States, where he died at the age of 53.[18] That not all residents of the district were reformers is shown from the fact that the government built an armoury in Lloydtown for the accommodation of a company of volunteers under the command of a retired officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Armstrong, who had located on lot 24 of the ninth concession.[19]

For some time after the Rebellion Lloydtown continued as a place of considerable importance, no doubt owing to its natural water power which made it the locale of several mills. Thus in 1851 W. H. Smith, in his *Canada, Past, Present and Future*, described Lloydtown, then a village of 350 inhabitants, as possessing "a grist mill, having three run of stones, a saw mill, and a carding and fulling mill . . . The grist mill has a fall of twenty-five feet. There are also in the village two tanneries, a post office, and two churches, Episcopal and Methodist."[20]

---

[17] *Marriage Register of the Rev. John Adams, Presbyterian Minister, King Township, 1858-1879*, PAO.

[18] *York County Scrapbook Number 1*, 131.

[19] *History of Toronto and County of York*, III, 379.

[20] Smith, W.H. *Canada, Past, Present and Future* (Toronto, 1851), I, 282; also *Historical Atlas of York County Illustrated* (Toronto, Miles and Company, 1878), 43 (Map of Lloydtown and Schomberg).

But Lloydtown was soon to lose its position to the small neighboring village of Brownsville, situated on the same branch of the Holland River a little to the northeast of Lloydtown and closer to the ninth concession (the present Highway 27). Brownsville took its name from the Brown family, to which belonged three brothers prominent in the life of the district. John R. Brown, known locally as "Yankee" Brown, was a Pennsylvania Quaker who settled in the township in 1830. He was implicated in the Rebellion, was imprisoned for eight months, and then was banished from the province. After two years he returned and purchased lot 26, eighth concession, for eight dollars an acre. His brother Thomas built the first flour mill at Brownsville in 1836. He too sympathized with the Reform Party but took no active part in the uprising. Another brother, Garret Brown, operated an early private banking business in the district.[21]

Brownsville continued to grow in size and importance during the fifties, and on August 10, 1861, a public meeting was called for the purpose of securing a post office for the town. The townspeople of Brownsville complained that it was increasingly inconvenient for them to go to the Lloydtown post office, one mile away, to transact their business. The government was ready enough to establish the post office but insisted upon a change of name as there was another Brownsville (now Woodbridge) in York County. After much discussion the Member of Parliament for South Simcoe, Thomas R. Ferguson, a stalwart Orangeman, suggested that the town be named after the Duke of Schomberg who was killed at the Battle of the Boyne. And finally, on August 1, 1862, the post office of Schomberg was opened.[22] One consequence of the increasing importance of Brownsville-Schomberg over Lloydtown was the growth of the tiny hamlet of Nobleton, seven miles further south on the ninth concession line. This occurred because the ninth concession, on which Schomberg was situated, became a more frequently travelled route than the tenth concession line which was the road to Lloydtown.

Another mill town which gained considerable, if rather transitory, importance as an industrial centre, was Kettleby, on a branch of the Holland River. The original grant of lot 28, on the fourth concession, was made on May 20, 1801, to Dorothy Burger, the daughter of Lewis Mabe, a Loyalist of Bertie Township, Lincoln County. Two years later John Bogart from Muncy, Pennsylvania, toured Upper Canada on horseback, looking for possible mill sites and homes. On June 12, 1803, Dorothy Burger sold him the 200 acres of lot 28 for ninety dollars. Later, in 1825 Jacob Tool bought half the property from Bogart and built a dam and saw mill. On September 13, 1842, in turn, he sold 46 acres, including the mill site, to Septimus Tyrwhitt and Charles Eaton. Thereafter Kettleby grew very rapidly. During the ensuing winter timber was felled, lumber was sawn at mill, and by the spring of 1843 the hills of Kettleby were covered with materials for the Tyrwhitt mills. Carpenters, joiners and millwrights constructed a large flour mill, designed not merely to serve local needs but also for the export trade, a woolen mill, an oat mill, a cooperage and a distillery. At the peak twenty coopers were employed making barrels in which to export the flour. The distillery utilized the waste grain from the mills and a herd of swine was fed from the mash as well. The bran for which there was no market, was dumped into the stream by the ton.

---

[21] Sawdon, H.H. and Love, J.C. *Schomberg and Its Schools* (Toronto, 1928), 11, also *Historical Atlas of York County Illustrated,* 43.

[22] *The Lloydtown and Brownville Examiner*: *The North York and South Simcoe Journal,* July 1861-August 1862.

In the early days the settlement was often known as Tyrwhitt's Mills, but Mrs. Tyrwhitt derived the name Kettleby from the Welsh village where her husband had grown up. The post office, opened in 1851, at first was named Kettleby Mills, but in 1859 this was shortened to Kettleby. Besides the mills Septimus Tyrwhitt also built a large house of mud brick with verandahs on three sides on the hillside overlooking the valley. In 1875 this property was sold to Jacob Walton, the son of Jesse Walton, one of Kettleby's pioneer Quakers. Jacob Walton, who was the local storekeeper, postmaster, blacksmith and potash boiler, built a new house, Brunswick Hall, on the foundations of Tyrwhitt's house, using all the hand-made wooden trim, doors and fireplaces in his new dwelling. His son, Jesse M. Walton, several times mayor of Aurora, was keenly interested in local history and maintained Brunswick Hall as a summer home. Here he kept a private museum in the old basement rooms.

Kettleby was the shopping centre for the Springdale Mills and Mount Mellick Mills and included several taverns and hotels, three shoemakers, two blacksmiths, a tailor, dressmaker, milliner and weaver. Felt hats were manufactured by the Fuller family. Potash boilers, harness and carriage makers also located at Kettleby, notably Brooks W. Walton, who had a paint shop, wagon-making shop and farm-implement factory where he employed blacksmiths and woodworkers. He invented and manufactured a combination cultivator and seed drill on which was inscribed "Manufactured by Brooks W. Walton, Main St., Kettleby, Canada West". The implement factory was eventually bought out by the Massey-Harris company. A mail coach gave daily service from Lloydtown and Brownsville through Kettleby to Aurora.[23] According to Henry Hulse's advertisement in the *Brownsville Examiner* of January 16, 1862, the stage left Mrs. Stead's hotel in Lloydtown at 5:45 a.m., called at Mr. William Baddy's in Brownsville at 6:00 a.m., at Kettleby, and at Aurora in time to meet the morning trains, the fare from Lloydtown to Aurora being 50c and from Kettleby to Aurora 25c.[24]

Kettleby gradually declined in importance as the coming of the railway altered the established travel patterns, and the flour export trade fell on hard times, while the supply of timber for lumber or potash sharply diminished. W. H. Smith as early as 1851 had commented on the depletion of the forests about Kettleby:

---

[23] See Walton, J.M. *The Story of Kettleby* (Aurora, n.d.)

[24] *The Lloydtown and Brownsville Examiner,* January 16, 1862.

> The situation is picturesque, and would be more so had a little of the timber been left standing on the hills. Here, however, the universal Canadian practice has been followed in clearing the land, that of sweeping away every thing capable of bearing a green leaf; although it requires a generation to repair the devastations of a few hours. The new settler, however, looks upon trees as enemies, which must be destroyed on any terms, and it is not till he has been settled for some years, and begins to feel comfortable, that he wishes he had left a few trees to ornament his domain.[25]

This excessive clearing of the forests along with the grazing and cropping of the former woodlands was to have disastrous effect. Erosion of the fertile top soil as well as serious spring floods resulted from the loss of the tree cover. In Kettleby, for instance, there were five serious floods between 1885 and 1934 which swept away the mill dams, and of twenty-eight mill ponds in the township only one had survived to 1938. The cause lay in the inability of the spillways to cope with spring flood discharge peaks greatly in excess of those for which the dams had been originally designed.[26]

Laskay and Pottageville were two more villages which developed around mill sites. In 1832 Joseph Baldwin of Laskay in Yorkshire settled in the fifth concession and built a grist mill and saw mill on the east branch of the Humber River. The community grew to include also a woolen mill, carding and fulling mill, general store, hotel and church.[27] Pottageville, on the seventh concession and on the road between Lloydtown and Kettleby, was situated in the midst of a good timber stand. Here coopers manufactured many barrels for the potash trade[28] and here too was located the Cedarvale mill, the first stationary saw mill to operate in the township and the last to remain open. It was not sold and dismantled till the end of 1937.[29]

The coming of the railway age in the 1850's greatly transformed the township. The pioneer line, the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway, better known as the Northern, was conceived as a link between Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay, analogous to the Toronto portage and the later Yonge Street. A competition ensued between partisans of routes on the east and west sides of Yonge Street to attract the line to their communities and farming sections. In 1851 the "western" party published a pamphlet entitled *Important Statistical Information with reference to*

---

[25] Smith, W.H., *op.cit.*, 1, 283.

[26] Mayall, K.M., *op.cit.*, 26.

[27] *History of Toronto and County of York,* II, 380-84. The Laskay Emporium, the general store built by Joseph Baldwin in 1856, has been donated to the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority by Mrs. Robert Arbuckle. In February 1960 it was moved to the Pioneer Village in the Black Creek Conservation Area where it will serve to illustrate this type of establishment of a century ago. The blacksmith shop at the Pioneer Village was formerly a wheelwright's shop in Nobleton. It was built in 1855 and remained in continuous use until it was donated to the Authority by Mr. Norman Rose and removed to the Pioneer Village in October 1959.

[28] Guillet, E.C., *op.cit.*, 80.

[29] Mayall, K.M., *op.cit.*, 19.

the Prospects and Route of the Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railroad[30] which proved conclusively that the line should be built on the west side of Yonge Street because the western townships had been growing faster during the previous decade than those east of Yonge. Statistics of population, livestock and crops were cited for King and Albion Townships on the one hand and for Whitchurch, East Gwillimbury, Scott and Uxbridge Townships on the other. The outcome was that the actual right of way entered King Township from the south just west of the fourth concession line, continued north till just beyond King Station, after which it crossed Yonge Street into Whitchurch Township, and proceeded north to Aurora Station (in Whitchurch). The railway made its first passenger run from Toronto to Aurora on May 16, 1853, and in the following year was extended all the way to Collingwood.[31]

The coming of the railway tended to alter the orientation of travel and trade in King Township. The older centres of Lloydtown and Kettleby were adversely affected but Aurora virtually owed its existence to the railroad. Aurora was located partly in King and partly in Whitchurch Townships, on a branch of the Holland River known locally as Tannery Creek. A hamlet as early as 1804, it was at first named Machell's Corners after Richard Machell, an early settler and storekeeper. With the coming of the Northern Railway the village boomed. For several glorious months it was the end-of-steel town and the future looked very rosy. Perhaps it was to herald this new dawn of prosperity that Charles Doane, a local storekeeper and postmaster, suggested the name of Aurora. The post office had originally been established in 1846 on the Whitchurch side of Yonge Street under the name of Whitchurch, but on January 1, 1854 the post office assumed the name Aurora and simultaneously was established in Doane's flourishing general store at the northwestern corner of Wellington Street and Yonge Street. Richard Machell, who owned a large store on the opposite corner, did not favour this change of name and in fact was so incensed that he laid plans for a new subdivision outside the settlement to be known as Matchville, which however, did not materialize as a rival and challenger to Aurora.[32]

By 1860 Aurora's establishments included in addition to the older mills, tannery and ashery, a carriage factory, chair factory, brewery, several hotels, the Fleury foundry and the Campbell ropewalk. In 1863 it was incorporated as a village, and by the time of Confederation it included two large carriage factories, one specializing in the manufacture of cutters and sleighs, another tannery, a small brickyard, and a Mechanics Institute. Back in 1846 Charles Doane had built a handsome brick house,

---

[30] (Toronto, 1851).

[31] Ontario. Planning and Development, Department of. Conservation Branch. *Upper Holland Conservation Report* (Toronto, 1953), 72. See also Smith, R.D. "The Northern Railway: Its Origins and Construction, 1834-1855" (*Ontario History,* XLVIII (1), Winter 1956), 33.

[32] *York County Scrapbook Number 1,* 105.

Doane Hall, on Yonge Street just north of Wellington Street West. The building was remodelled somewhat in 1860 and today it houses some municipal offices of the town of Aurora.[33]

The other chief beneficiary of the railway was the village of King. Originally a straggling hamlet near the fourth concession line on the road between Oak Ridges on Yonge Street and the mill at Kinghorn, it was only a very small settlement before 1853 and went by the name of Springhill. The railway station was built somewhat south of the crossroads and the buildings clustered around it became known as King Station. Eventually the two communities merged as the village of King. In 1854 the surveyor J. Stoughton Dennis drew a plan for the village, "one of the principal stations of the Northern Railroad . . . in the flourishing township of King",[34] which, like Matchville, did not really materialize for another century. But the village of King prospered and grew into a substantial local market centre containing a brick hotel, harness shop, post office, general stores, and churches.

Besides the several villages and business centres inside the township, King residents had connections with a number of communities outside the boundaries of their township. In the early days, for example, King farmers took grain to Holland Landing where in 1821 Peter Robinson had built his "Red Mills".[35] Again, at the time of the rebellion there were close ties of political sympathy between Samuel Lount's supporters at Holland Landing and the reformers of the Lloydtown district.[36] Holland Landing was also important as the embarkation base for travellers going north to the Lake Simcoe district. Newmarket, located on the Upper Holland River, was well known to King residents for the court house, registry office and district grammar school were all located there. The *Newmarket Era* circulated in the northeastern section of the township. Richmond Hill, located several miles south of the township line on Yonge Street, also served a portion of King. Families like the Fergusons of the second concession attended the little Presbyterian church at Richmond Hill at a time when there were no suitable churches within the township.[37] Many King families also subscribed to the Richmond Hill papers the *York Herald* and the *Richmond Hill Liberal.*

King Township was well supplied with inns and taverns, and during the fifties and sixties the township council adopted the practice of meeting in the different hotels, moving about from Laskay to Nobleton, Lloydtown, Kettleby, Brownsville or Kinghorn.[38] According to the treasurer's annual report for 1861, there were at that time sixteen licensed premises within the township's boundaries.[39] But the temperance societies were also strong in King. To combat the liberal dispensing of liquor at the bees which accompanied the raising of buildings like barns and mills, the township's Quakers instituted "dry bees" which became more common with the spread of temperance societies.[40] One hamlet, at the corner of the second concession line and the King sideroad, even became known as Temperanceville. One of the earliest temperance societies in the entire province was formed near Kettleby on May 1, 1842, the Hillborn Settlement Total Abstinence Society. By 1849 a division of the Sons of Temperance was formed at Kettleby which met in a private home and then in a store. It encountered difficulties and surrendered its charter, but by February 1855 a new division was formed and soon afterward erected a Temperance Hall which was subsequently enlarged. For three generations all the public meetings of the community have been held in this building.[41]

---

[33] *Upper Holland Conservation Report,* 84; and *Historical Atlas of York County Illustrated,* 32 (map of Aurora).

[34] Dennis, J. Stoughton. *A Map of King Station in 1854,* PAO; also *Historical Atlas of York County, Illustrated,* 35 (map of King).

[35] *Upper Holland Conservation Report,* 76.

[36] *York County Scrapbook Number 1,* 53-59.

[37] *Papers Concerning the Burrows and Ferguson Families of King, Vaughan and Sunnidale Townships,* PAO.

[38] *Lloydtown and Brownville Examiner,* passim.

Though Quaker meeting houses were built in King early in the nineteenth century, other denominations were slow to follow. However the Reverend Featherston L. Osler, the Church of England minister at Tecumseth and father of the celebrated Osler family,[42] established a preaching station at Lloydtown and a parish church, St. Mary Magdalene, was opened there in 1843. Canon H. B. Osler, brother of F. L. Osler, was appointed its first rector and retained this position till his death in 1874. This historic church, built of mud brick, was situated on the hill overlooking the bustling village of Lloydtown. Eventually the congregation moved away and a new church was built at Schomberg in 1925.[43] Since then the old church has completely disappeared, like most of the other buildings of Lloydtown, and even its location remains unmarked. The Methodists built a frame church seating 250 people at Lloydtown in 1844, and afterwards replaced it by a brick church. It too was torn down when the congregation moved to Schomberg during the present century.[44] Another early church was the King Christian Church at Kettleby, built in 1851. The Christian Church was an early denomination to become established in York County, a church being built in Newmarket as early as 1826. The sect was governed somewhat like the Congregationalist Church but believed in baptism by total immersion. The churches at Newmarket and Kettleby are now part of the Baptist union.[45]

As was the case with places of worship, the Society of Friends were the first to establish schools in the township for their children. Common schools came later and by 1867 there were fourteen public schools in the township. However, pupils wishing to proceed further had to attend the County Grammar School at Newmarket. In 1892 the first high school was built in Aurora to serve the town and the surrounding townships of Whitchurch and King.[46] Even today there are no public secondary schools within the township boundaries though there is a private school for boys, St. Andrew's College near Aurora.

---

[39] *Ibid.*, January 16, 1862.
[40] *York County Scrapbook Number 1*, 9.
[41] Walton, J.M., *op.cit.*, 21-24.
[42] See Wilkinson, Anne. *Lions in the Way* (Toronto, 1956).
[43] Sawdon, H.H. and Love, J.C., *op.cit.*, 17.
[44] Walton, J.M., *op.cit.*, 17.
[45] *Ibid.*, 18-20.

The township's first newspaper, *The Examiner*: *The North York and South Simcoe Journal*, a weekly, was published in Brownsville between 1861 and 1866. For a few years in the 1860's the *Aurora Borealis* was published at Aurora, and the *Aurora Banner*, which is still in existence, commenced publication in 1864. However many King families subscribed to 'outside' papers like those of Newmarket and Richmond Hill, and especially the Toronto newspapers. The Kettleby post office letter record book shows that many letters in this period were being mailed to the editors of the *Globe* and the *Patriot*.[47]

In its more than a century and a half of history King Township has seen the coming and going of several economic stages. The forests which once practically covered the township with its stands of white pine, maple, beech, elm and hemlock, were a major source of employment for many years. In 1840 over sixty per cent of the area was still uncleared, but the peak of production probably was reached in the ensuing twenty years, with the forest yielding its quota of square timbers, lumber, shingles and fence posts and rails.[48] There were twenty-one saw mills operating in the township in 1851, some of which we have already referred to at Lloydtown, Brownsville, Laskay, Pottageville and Kettleby. Another large mill was located at Springdale, one mile south of Kettleby, and was operated by members of the Webb family and the Van Allen family. Probably the best known of all were the mills of Henry Marsh, the Mount Mellick Mills, specializing in the square timber trade and situated on lot 21 in the fifth concession.[49] For a time a steam saw mill was located at the lake at Eversley, now part of the Eaton Hall farm property. Another large saw mill was erected at Glenville in the north eastern corner of the township. Other mills were operated at Glenville in later years by John Cawthra and by William Rowe, wealthy industrialists of Newmarket.[50]

Essentially, however, King was an agricultural area. W. H. Smith reports that in 1851 there were seven grist mills at work grinding the township's wheat, and he gives the following yields for 1849: wheat, 149,000 bushels, barley, 5,000 bushels, oats, 80,000 bushels, peas, 37,000 bushels, potatoes 52,000 bushels, turnips, 14,000 bushels, maple sugar,

---

[46] *York County Scrapbook Number 1*, 97.

[47] *Globe and Mail*, July 11, 1944.

[48] Mayall, K.M., *op.cit.*, 19.

[49] *York County Scrapbook Number 1*, 141.

[50] *Newmarket Era and Express*, May 26, 1949. The will of Job Hughes indicates that there was a saw mill on the Glenville site as early as 1807.

32,000 pounds, wool, 19,000 pounds, and butter 22,000 pounds.[51] It was reported in 1851 that King and Albion Townships combined possessed 2,003 horses, 7,632 cattle, and 11,126 sheep.[52] These reports apply to a time when probably a bare fifty per cent of the land was cleared and the township's population was about 5,500 persons. Naturally a King Township Agricultural Society was formed at an early date and the first Township Fall Fair was organized in 1852. For the first twenty years the fair alternated among Brownsville, Aurora, King, Laskay and Nobleton, but after 1872 it was held at Schomberg each year.[53] For a few weeks after the 1861 fair was held at Brownsville on Friday, October 11, the pages of the *Examiner* remained filled with accounts of the competitions in livestock and handiwork, with the races, and with the marvellous displays.[54]

King Township never produced an urban centre of more than a few hundred inhabitants in the period before Confederation, and it has always remained essentially rural. The principal explanation is certainly the proximity of Toronto, virtually all parts of the township being less than twenty-five miles distant from the city. With a metropolitan centre so close and so readily accessible large communities have been unable to develop within the township. From the very beginning the township was closely tied to Toronto, first by the portage and water route, then by Yonge Street, and afterwards by the Northern Railway. The farmers of King depended on Toronto as a market for their produce and as a supply centre for imported goods and specialized services. King Township for most of its history remained a predominantly agricultural area closely tied to an expanding urban metropolis. Now, in 1960, a new stage in the relationship seems upon us—the ever-expanding metropolis is reaching out to engulf much of the township within its suburban fringe.

---

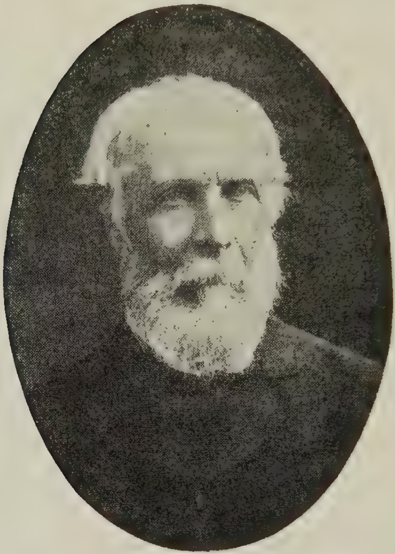
51. Smith, W.H., *op.cit.,* I, 284.
52. *Important Statistical Information with Reference to the Prospects and Route of Toronto, Simcoe and Lake Huron Railroad.*
53. Sawdon, H.H. and Love, J.C., *op.cit.,* 35.
54. *Lloydtown and Brownsville Examiner,* October 1861.

THE LAURA SECORD MEDAL

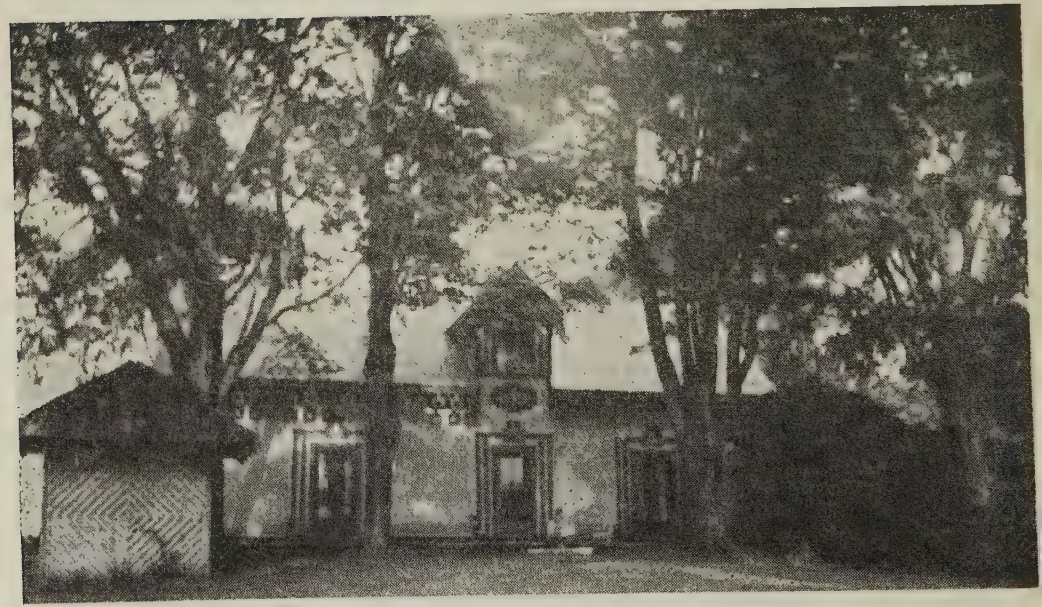
Mr. Hamilton Craig—whose article on the Upper Canada Preserved Medal appeared in the last issue—desires information concerning a certain Laura Secord Medal, of which he owns a specimen in bronze.

The Obverse of the medal carries a scene of Laura Secord communicating intelligence to Lieutenant FitzGibbon in front of a thicket, and the inscriptions: "Brave Laura Secord" and "Lest We Forget". The Reverse side gives a list of sixteen battles of the War of 1812 together with their dates. A group of minute letters on the obverse, taken to read JEW SPEC CO HAMILTON, indicates that a Jewellers Specialty Company of that city was the presumed manufacturer. Mr. Craig has learned that a company of this name apparently operated in Hamilton 25 or 30 years ago but is no longer in business there.

If any of our readers can furnish further details concerning this medal they are asked to write to Mr. Craig, 55 Edna Avenue, Toronto 9.



DANIEL FOWLER, 1879



THE CEDARS, AMHERST ISLAND

THE ARTIST TURNS FARMER: CHAPTERS FROM THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DANIEL FOWLER

Introduction by Thomas R. Lee

A valued possession of Miss Edna L. Fowler and Mrs. Florence A. Howard, of Napanee, is a typed manuscript entitled "Autobiography of Daniel Fowler, R.C.A. and Intercolonial Medallist, 1810-1894". Fowler, the distinguished Canadian watercolourist, was their grandfather. He began writing his life story in his 84th year, beginning with his birth in England in 1810 and ending with his own description of the fall downstairs in his home which led to his death a few months later.

It was during a visit to Fowler's Amherst Island farm home, The Cedars, where the autobiography was written, that I was privileged to read Fowler's most interesting story.[1] The original, handwritten in Fowler's neat, readable style, is treasured by another descendant. Fowler describes in detail his early days at school in England, his training as an artist, travels through Europe, his experiences—and frustrations—as a drawing master, and his decision at the age of 33 that such a profession was not for him. His health and the state of his finances made it mandatory that he leave England. He chose Canada.

Fowler tells of his life and times on Amherst Island where he was to spend 51 years, relates the experiences of a sickly artist-turned-farmer who after 14 years once again began drawing and painting, to become one of the foremost painters of his time. The title of his autobiography reflects Fowler's great pride in the fact that at a great international exposition, competing with artists from many countries, he was one of only twelve—and the only Canadian—to win a gold medal.

Published here, for the first time, are chapters X and XI of the autobiography, telling of Fowler's decision to leave England, his choice of a farm, and his first years on it. Fowler went to Amherst in 1843, and there he died and was buried in 1894. His home, The Cedars, lived in for many years by Miss Fowler and Mrs. Howard, is now in other hands, but its fame will be perpetuated by the plaque of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario erected only last year.

CHAPTER X

A GLIMPSE OF THE PIONEERS

That moment arrived after a life of steady labor at my profession of some seven or eight years. In the meantime, cares had begun to press upon me. I had married, I had an increasing family and under the stress

---

[1] See "An Artist Inspects Upper Canada: The Diary of Daniel Fowler, 1843," Introduction by Thomas R. Lee (*Ontario History,* L(4), Autumn 1958) for a sketch of Fowler's career, pages 211-12.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 2.

entailed by increased responsibility my health again failed to such an extent as to interfere seriously with my work and very seriously with my income, and to render my pecuniary position both unsatisfactory and precarious. I found myself at each year's end eating into my capital to supply deficiencies, and what that must come to at last it needed no prophet to tell. I must secure my wife and family from the risk of poverty at any personal sacrifice, and if my profession would not insure me against such a contingency, I must give it up. But it was no small force that drove me to such a resolution. Consider all that I had to abandon; my dearly loved art, all the time and money I had expended upon it, all the stock in trade I had laid up for it, and more than that lay before me! What was the change to be? What was I fit for? What employment could I turn to? Where could I best recover my health, and bestow the remainder of my means so as to make the most of them? I could descry no possible channel in England, and medical advice prescribed for me an open air life as far as practicable; and thus it came to pass that the idea of emigration came into my head. It was repulsive to me; I hated the very word. I had always looked upon it with a contemptuous pity. He must be a poor creature, I thought, for whom his own dear old country did not suffice, who must shake its dust off his feet and carry away his shoes to be soiled with alien mud. This was to be my lot now. I may as well say that I suffered a deep and bitter mortification and disappointment; but it had to be endured. It only remained to choose my colony, and after much consideration I fixed on Canada as the one best suited to my circumstances. If I could only have projected myself into a futurity of some twenty or thirty years, and foreseen what I should have become by that time, what a load of sorrow would have been lifted off my heart!

My resolution once formed I took infinite pains to acquaint myself with the conditions of my proposed adopted country. I sought out information by every means and from every quarter. I pass by the remarks and ejaculations of those who knew nothing of the subject; of the gentleman who buttoned up his coat with a shivering gesture and exclaimed, "My God, Fowler! nine months' winter!" and of the lady who compassionated our exposure to the danger of the alligators that infested Lake Ontario; experience was to teach me that the truth lay in the "Juste milieu;" but from those who were better informed I learned a great deal and imbibed many warnings, and perhaps I may say that I started for the colony as well prepared as a perfect stranger to it—in those days—could expect; which, truth to say, proved to be very little.

It remained to provide a safe and comfortable passage across the Atlantic for a lady with three little children.[2] From persons versed in such matters I learned that that end might be best secured by taking berths on one of the regular packets sailing between London and New York. Having selected one, the Philadelphia, Captain Harvey, and finding that my wife would be the only lady passenger on board, I made it a condition of my bargain that a stewardess should be taken, looking to the likelihood that both my wife and the nurse might be incapacitated by sea-sickness; this was consented to, and she turned out a very nice woman, invaluable as a trained sailor, and kind and thoughtful to those under her charge. I was to pay £100 for myself, my wife, three children, one of my brothers who made the trip in my company, and the nurse. The ship would in these days be considered neither large nor stylish in her fittings; Captain Harvey said "he pretended to no more than safety and decency, but they were always lovely". In this sentiment, however quaintly expressed, I thoroughly agreed with him; I sought only the greatest amount of safety and comfort for those dependent on me, and my expectations were realized. We had a satisfactory voyage to New York of twenty-eight days, and barring the inevitable seasickness all went well, and uneventfully. Happy is the voyage, like the country, which has no history.

---

[2] Mary Ann Bessy, William Augustus, and Caroline. Two other children, Frances Louise and Reginald Amherst, were born on Amherst Island.

My stay in New York was too much occupied with business, Custom House and otherwise, to be productive of much pleasure; nor were my spirits raised by the sight of the specimens of newly cleared land which, when we had left the cultivated neighborhood of the city, met our view on the way to Oswego, whence we were to cross the Lake to Kingston, our objective point in Canada. They were just as repulsive as I had expected from pictures and book descriptions. "Here," I said bitterly, "is a foretaste of Canada." I was mistaken. After a stay of one night in Kingston we proceeded by steamboat to Amherst Island, the aim and end of our wanderings, and very different were my first impressions of that place. We were received into the house of Captain R . . . . , the agent for the Irish owner of a large estate, originally a grant from Government, of which the greater part of the Island then consisted. Here all denoted refinement, the natural result of Captain R . . . . 's having been accustomed to the best society of Dublin. The situation of his house was beautiful, on a small deep bay with high picturesque shores fringed with cedars and other trees, which latter also surrounded the house. Seen as I saw it first, in the glamour of a lovely June day, the sunshine pouring on the gloss of young foliage, the glisten of white fruit blossoms, and the sheen of blue water, the place made on me an impression of home-like beauty which fifty years of further acquaintance has never changed.

But emerging from this oasis into the open country no more beauty greeted us for a time. Here the features were a badly made road bounded by the hideous snake fences from which there was then no respite, (now disappeared, for alas, the woods are gone that supplied them), ill-cleared fields in some of which the stumps of the mercilessly slaughtered forest were still standing, and in general very poor buildings. A mile or so of this brought us to the house of my brother-in-law,[3] where we were to be established for a time; on my part with heartfelt thanks for the success of my great venture so far.

We were very soon called on by the clergyman and his wife, to whom we were afterwards indebted for much good nature and friendliness, and with whom we became very intimate. On returning their first visit we found a parsonage well ordered at all points, very homelike, and what pleased me still more, as opening up a similar prospect for myself, a well cultivated and prolific garden. And at this spot, a distance of more than two miles from the landingplace, the aspect of the landscape had changed. Very shortly afterward, in company with the clergyman, I rode further in the same direction, and as we proceeded the improvement became more marked. In this district there were settlers of fifty years' standing even at that time, men who had bought their land, become freeholders, and had therefore more interest in bringing their property into good condition. Planting was not then much in vogue, but there were here many second-growth trees, some of fine size and foliage, and as we proceeded a new and charming feature appeared on the scene—thriving apple orchards in full bloom. The houses and barns, too, were better, the fields better ordered, and there was less of the untidiness that then prevailed, and which it must be admitted still prevails in some places to an extent unwelcome to an English eye. At last we passed into a beautiful piece of road, skirting the water of the Bay of Quinte which in the main had kept us company all the way, and bounded on either side by a luxuriant growth of cedars meeting in places almost over our heads. Amherst Island began to wear a very different aspect to my eyes. At this very point Mr. A . . . . said to me, "This man wants to sell out;" and from that moment began to spring up in me an inclination to purchase the place, if within my means, which has now been my home for more than fifty years. After a ride of about another mile we reached the western end, or "Head", as it is called, of the Island, and looked out over the vast expanse of Lake Ontario. At that time few but explorers realized what those "Great Lakes", now so familiar to every tourist, really were, and to me it was just like looking out to sea. But vastness was all. There was not the least approach to the beauty of coast and shore such as is found in the Lakes of Italy, pictures made to hand for painters; nor was there in the scenery a trace of the suave, tender, charming rurality of the pastoral parts of England. All was rather hard and flat, though not absolutely so, as the land rolled a little and rose into ridges. But the air! For clearness, for brightness, for the exhilaration it produced, it was matchless. Short as had been my residence on the Island I was feeling the benefit of it. Already I felt new life stirring within me, already I felt like a new man; already I had taken a bound from which there has never been any recoil. I have felt this again whenever I have returned home feeling the depression of other places—whether Toronto, Montreal or New York, and especially England invariably. Of course those maladies which are beyond the range of atmospheric influence have remained because they are chronic and constitutional, but they have been much ameliorated; but for a naturally weak man I have been doing an immensity of work, both physical and mental, for fifty years, and am now writing this well on in my 84th year. Whatever my life may have been worth I most assuredly owe it to the air and climate of this part of Canada; nor perhaps am I at all singular. Kingston, from which we are distant about twenty miles, was said when a garrison town to be the most healthy station, save one, in the British Dominions.

---

[3] Robert Gale.

Not many days had passed after my ride with the clergyman when my brother and I walked up to take a look at the place which I had heard was for sale. Nothing could be much ruder or much less inviting than the house and its immediate surroundings, but I could see at once its capabilities. (There was in former days a landscape gardener in England, known as Capability Brown). With the permission of Mrs. Hopper,[4] that was the name of the owners, we inspected the house. It could be made to do well enough, but I here pass it by, in view of its fate before long. She told us that we could find Mr. Hopper by following the lane through the farm till we came upon him. Before meeting with him we came on a bit of very picturesque scenery, consisting of the end of a limestone ridge, well wooded, which at that point thrust itself forward into the fertile land, coming up from the water's edge and enclosing the house in a sheltered valley. Beyond that we met Mr. Hopper coming home to dinner; he turned back with us to view the land, and we came presently to a point where the same ridge again thrust itself out in the same way and of the same character, only of much greater extent and more level, though of varied surface too. A more beautiful piece of park scenery, and more exactly what that is in England, could nowhere be found. I could not suppress a delighted admiration at so unexpected a treat for the eyes on a Canadian farm. I exchanged a look with my brother which was seen and curiously misinterpreted by Mr. Hopper. He said in a deprecatory, and not very well-pleased tone, "This is the last bit of bad land on the place"—Bad land! It has proved by no means worthless (to say nothing of the timber on it), as a fine shelter and dry lying ground for cattle; but to me it was a gem, a jewel, and a mine of wealth within certain moderate limits. For fifty years it has been my favorite haunt, and I have derived from it and its congener already spoken of at least a thousand dollars' worth of subjects for pictures.

---

[4] Mrs. John Hopper.

The farm consisted of one hundred acres freehold and fifty acres on lease at hardly more than a nominal rent; just the right extent for me I was told, and believed. With some little difficulty I got Mr. Hopper to put a price on it; the whole amount was to be £500, $2000, valuing the lease at £150, and a large new barn put up that spring at $300. I felt more than ever inclined to become a purchaser, but kept my own counsel, and let the matter lie over. I must not be in too great a hurry—I must see more of the country first. So that I caught at a proposal to accompany Captain R . . . . on a tour of inspection of other property in the western part of the Province and thus become acquainted with the conditions of farm and other life in other parts of the colonies.[5]

On this trip I saw for the first time that wonder of the world, Niagara, and visited Toronto, Hamilton and London, the first a city of very modest dimensions and equally modest pretensions (changed in both respects now), the two latter little dreaming that cities they were ever to be; and came near Lake Huron, actually at that time the western boundary of Canada in that direction. In that now fertile peninsula, at this time netted with railway, the chief incident of travel in those days was the mud-holes, which broke up the roads every here and there, small seas of black liquid the way into and out of which was marked by the tracks on the margin, leaving past divination what was to happen to you between those points. Other varieties of transit were plank roads, very good if in good order, which seemed always very doubtful, and "corduroy" causeways across swamps. In some parts of the country were fine settlements in a forward condition of improvement; others very backward, with much choice as to quality of land. Looked at with a painter's eye a most unpromising country, not a picturesque constituent of a picture in it; to the prophetic soul of the agriculturist most surely a country with a great destiny before it—a land that would produce bread and beef without stint or limit—in spite of its present condition of blazed forests and half-cleared fields. Fully have the expectations been realized of those who took the latter view.

---

[5] See "An Artist Inspects Upper Canada" for Fowler's account of the trip.

I came back to Amherst Island not weaned from it in any degree by what I had seen during my absence. People have asked me at times "How came you to settle on such a place as Amherst Island?" The reply has been easy to give. I came in the first instance because my brother-in-law was already here and could receive us into his house while we looked about us; and, having come here by that accidental circumstance, I took to the place and have never had any desire to leave it again. And it was at that time a very choice situation for settlement. To begin with, it was eminently healthy, and only fifteen miles from Kingston (then capital of the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the seat of Government, and a garrison town), with a daily steam-boat there and back. There was a society of agreeable old country families not to be easily matched in any country township of the Province; there was good sport in the way of fishing and shooting; and, as a more substantial reason, there was fertile land. To sum up, it suited both my health and my means better than the different and probably more expensive life of a town. I have generally added "The sun shines here as it does elsewhere; I prefer country life to town life, infinitely; If I have lost much I have probably escaped more." And besides our neighbors, with whom we have always lived on the best of terms, we have always had acquaintances and friends in Kingston from the first, and have been glad to see them whenever they have found their way to us, which has been not seldom. It so happened that the officers in command of two or three of the regiments quartered in Kingston were relatives of my wife and paid us visits; some were here in their yachts or on shooting trips, and some who were fond of art came to see my sketches all of which I had brought with me. In Kingston itself all is to be found in the way of society that any one could desire. One of themselves said to me once, "We have three distinct branches, the university, the military and the old families." Among these he would be hard indeed to please who could not choose or amalgamate; and among them we have had life-long friends. Nor have business relations been less lasting. For my whole residence of fifty years the same law-firm has transacted such business as I have had; I have drawn money from England through the same bank, subscribed to the same newspaper, and for nearly (alas, not quite! as long kept up my fire insurance with the same agency). Tolerably conservative, you think? Perhaps so. But the very fact of such fidelity to place and conditions will prove that there must be much to recommend them.

This, however, was a future I did not then foresee. To go back a little. On my return from the West I agreed with Mr. Hopper for the purchase of his farm for the sum of five hundred pounds. We met at the registry office, the deed was made out and the money handed over. Though I was quite unconscious of having done anything in the least degree extraordinary I know now that I must have been a nine days' wonder, and I feel sure that afterwards my notoriety must have extended to ninety-nine. When I had bought anything in England the simple ceremony of paying for it had inevitably followed. But I found that that was not the case here, especially with land. The payment down of the whole price was absolutely unprecedented; a proportion only, usually one-third, is paid down at once and the remainder left on mortgage on the property. And I stood alone not only in this. All the other old-country gentlemen settlers had bought out lease holders for, of course, comparatively small sums of money. I had heard of this before I came from my brother-in-law, but I had positively determined against it—my land should at least be my own; but this increased my singularity. Another thing which was subject to remark (but that was in later days) was my dislike and avoidance of those long credits, the giving and taking of which were then, and for that matter still are, a vice of the country which do enormous mischief; many and many a man has through that pernicious system lost his farm to the store-keeper. Quite lately it was observed to me that I must "have brought a great deal of money with me from England". No doubt, on the principle of "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*" my $2000 was easily magnified into $20,000, and all the more that I was ready, shortly afterwards, to lay down $800 more for live stock crop and implements.

It happened in this way. Mr. Hopper, who was a somewhat short-tempered man, took offence at some trifle or other, and threatened to keep me out of possession till after the winter, which he said he had a prescriptive right to do that he might feed out his hay and straw to his stock. This would have inconvenienced me most seriously; so it struck me that if I could bargain with him to take everything off his hands as it stood, I should not only escape that disadvantageous contingency, but should save myself a great deal of trouble, and also great risk of my total inexperience being taken advantage of, in purchasing a vast variety of one thing and another here and there. It should have been, too, exactly what the former proprietor, who must know best, considered fitted for the place. Accordingly I sounded him on the subject, and proposed that he should draw up a list of all there was, of all kinds, with prices affixed. He fell into my scheme, and agreed to do that. From all the information that I could obtain, and I took all pains about it, his estimate was not unfair, and I offered to take everything, except the wheat crop, at one-fourth less than the price affixed, the hay to be valued by the number of loads off the field, and the oats and peas to be paid for at the market price at the time of threshing at so much a bushel. The straw was to be thrown in for my use; the same with the apples, and, I think, the roots; all harvesting to be done by him, and full possession to be given me in the fall. Mr. Hopper must have thought the arrangement between us to his advantage also, as he had no other farm engaged to which to remove his stock, etc., or he would not have fallen so readily into the material abatement which I required. He did not live long to enjoy the change he had made. He left the immediate neighborhood, and only two or three years afterwards while examining the shoe on a colt he received a kick from the animal, from the effects of which he died.

Thus then was the die cast, and, so to speak, my boats burnt behind me. It was a venture; there could be no doubt of that. I was in a condition of supreme ignorance of everything connected with farming. I asked a very great deal from myself, and promised it all with entire sincerity; I thought I could depend on myself, but that remained to be seen.

CHAPTER XI
A RETROSPECT

During the summer of 1843 I was perforce somewhat an idle man, and passed much of my time in fishing, shooting and riding, having now possessed myself of a horse, and in this manner building up my health. Here again I was a subject of remark. It was predicted on all hands, as came to my ears now and then, that that sort of thing would never do—I should never make a farmer. So do people jump to conclusions. There was much to be planned and carried out, but most of this had of course to be deferred till the departure of the Hoppers. One thing however, which would in no way interfere with them, had to be taken in hand at once, as it was a long job, and must be accomplished in warm weather. I contemplated an addition to the house, and, as the latter was at present unprovided with a cellar, the making of one under the new part was an absolute necessity for convenience and comfort. So the digging and arrangements of this I myself attended, and my presence on the spot brought me into pretty constant intercourse with Mr. Hopper, with whom I came to be on very friendly terms.

In the fall of 1843 I entered into full possession of my new home. The house consisted of two houses joined together lengthwise, one of frame, the other stone; the first had been inhabited by two brothers, one of whom had added the second when he married, the other after a time removing and leaving the frame house empty. As no party wall had been built between them and they were only united at the corners it was easy, by opening a doorway, to throw them into one. One of them contained the inevitable living room with two bedrooms opening off it and the "chamber", or loft, above; the other, the stone one, was divided into a good sized living room, a sleeping apartment, and a large kitchen, with an upper storey easily convertible into four bedrooms, so that we had at once a sufficiently commodious and comfortable abode, and very little outlay would have been required but for the necessity of the cellar. With the addition of the building over this the house was really larger than we at present needed. This new building was the occasion of much bewilderment to the public. Part of what would be the best front of the house was the gable-end of the old stone house, so I made the gable end of the new building to match it, the whole presenting a front of two uniform gables still more closely connected by the verandah that was afterwards carried along it. It caused great wonderment. Was ever the like seen? A front consisting of "two ends"? There was not far from us, on the main land, a large brick house lately erected, with a pediment in front and a wing on either side. This was described as "one end and two wings". The regulation Canadian house was, up to that time, a square or rather oblong box, with a gable, taking the form of the roof, at each end; and perhaps the old-time Canadian knew the requirement of his climate better than those who now indulge in "Queen Anne" structures with outside walls to every room and gables and dormer windows whose too frequent purpose is to let in the rain and snow. But I shall waste no more words upon the house except to say that by one contrivance and another it gradually took on a very good appearance; nor should I have said so much but in view of the fate that awaited it before long, to the utter loss of all the time, thought and money, that I had expended upon it.

With the outside also I took considerable pains, every unsightly object being removed from around it, and a neat fence of my own design replacing the hideous rails. In this direction, however, I proceeded too far, and committed some blunders, for I had two entrance gates made, one from the downward, the other from the upper road, each with a sweeping approach to the house, and this I soon found was altogether too Anti-Canadian as causing a great deal too much trouble to keep in order, with the scarcity of laborers in the country; so the whole thing was soon restricted to one modest approach, and even that looked on as rather high style. Pulling up at the gate one day a visitor from a distance said, "*What*, do you *drive* in?" to which I could only reply "Why not?"—though I do not now remember any other place belonging to our acquaintance, except that of Captain R . . . . where the visitor did not hitch his horses to the gate-post and walk the intervening space to the front door. As a rule it is best to conform to the habits of the people among whom we live, as they are sure to know best the conditions of the country, though at the same time you need not hesitate to introduce any very decided or obvious improvement, which if really improvement will soon commend itself as such and be generally adopted.

I was far from being above imitating what I saw others doing and taking their advice. Not that the latter was always practicable. It is not only doctors that differ. I was told of one new settler who asked several of his neighbors what was the best kind of spring wheat to sow. One recommended one sort and one another, till at last he was told that "a little mixture" was good, and then he gave it up. But I went round the farm with Mr. Hopper and got him to tell me what he had intended to do with each field if he had retained the place, and made memoranda of such as we went on; also to mark those parts of the boundary fences which it devolved on me to keep up. Bad boundary fences were then, as now, a fertile source of misunderstanding between neighbors; I had been warned of this, and desired, so far as lay with me, to avert the necessity for the services of those municipal officers, known as "fence viewers", who are the lawful and absolute arbitrators in case of dispute.

After the same manner I paid the closest attention to every detail connected with the fall and winter management of the farm. True, I was a perfect novice, ignorant of any part of the subject, but I could strive to learn "for all I was worth", as would be said in these days. I hired for a year a man who had worked for Mr. Hopper during a previous winter and also for a cousin of his, one of our very best farmers, who afterwards acquired a competent fortune by that occupation. Blair, for that was his name, was well acquainted with the modes of management of these men in all seasons, and I was not above learning from him, albeit he was not the most agreeable of teachers being a somewhat sullen sort of character with rather a rough tongue. When I was a boy I used to hear the phrase "instrumentality of second causes" without having the least idea of what it meant; but now it occurred to me that while I could not profit directly by the instruction of Mr. Hopper and Mr. M . . . I could be taught indirectly through the medium of Blair, and that this might be an instance of the "instrumentality of second causes". Be that as it might, I profited by it. I watched Blair closely, not always confessing that I did so, and in the course of time I obtained an immense amount of instruction. I lent a hand in everything, to my own great satisfaction, because I felt that I was doing my utmost towards carrying to success my vital experiment. We can never command success, but we can at least strive to deserve it. My brother once asked me what possible pleasure I could take in feeding the stock. I replied that there was "pleasure in the performance of every duty and an agreeable warmth about the heart in the remembrance of a duty done." First of all the feeding of stock is a very important matter; it is simply a manufacture of meat and milk, done with very expensive materials, and you must see to it that there is no waste or loss, for many of the operations of husbandry are a failure from a real or metaphorized "hole in the trough". Next, I see my children, and feel myself, whole and healthy as the result of the life I lead, in the occupations of which life it is needful I should bear my share. Is there not, I ask, a pleasure and reward in all this? To me there is. And when you come to work for your children, no matter in what way, with a similar result, you will feel just the same. I fear however that my eloquence was thrown away; there are men and men, no two exactly alike, you in your way I in mine. My brother was certainly not converted or convinced then, and as he never had a family to work or hope or fear for, he probably remained unconvinced to the end. But with me it was the same throughout. "Thorough" had always been my motto, and now one of my neighbors gave me another, "you want everything just so." He meant it as a reproach but I accepted it as a compliment. I desired nothing more than to be "just so" in both giving and taking. I grudged no amount of labor, so long as it did not actually exceed my strength, and I could fully understand what people call its "dignity". "*Laborare est orare*", literally, to labor is to pray; or in other words to offer an act of worship. The fiat of the Creator has gone forth, "in the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread." It may not be your individual lot to sweat for your bread, but you never swallow a mouthful but some other man has. Respect that other man.

Nevertheless, like all novices, I made mistakes, no doubt sometimes ridiculous ones in the eyes of people more seasoned. One of them preserved in my journal as worth recording I will mention as an instance. That first fall there was beef to be killed for the winter supply. I had heard my brother say that in Australia they always shot the animals, taking evening for the purpose, as from the heat of the climate the carcasses must be cut up and salted before sunrise. Now, though there was certainly no reason for such expedition here, the shooting seemed as appropriate to one country as to another, and accordingly I shot the two creatures devoted to sacrifice. It was looked on as a wonderful exhibition of marksmanship, being in reality a very simple performance for one at all accustomed to a gun; and the notoriety I acquired thereby was due solely to my ignorance of the prevailing custom. I do not recollect whether any opposition was at the time offered to my proceedings; but, as may be surmised the exploit was not repeated.

Our first winter was pleasant, and even enjoyable. It was a remarkably fine one, and not severe. Besides it is a well known fact that newcomers feel the cold less in their first experience of it than they do afterwards. It would seem that you must be educated up—or down—to temperature as to everything else, and our education had not yet begun.

There was also—though that was not so much to my taste—a good deal of amusement. Several of the families who formed our society were what used to be called "thoroughly Irish", and among other Irish characteristics they possessed that of hospitality in a very marked degree. The consequence was that we were—to my mind—*society ridden*, as far as social engagements were concerned. There were frequent dinners, in spite of the difficulties of provision and service; there was a sleighing club—well enough in town but almost an absurdity with us— with lunches at alternate houses; and there was a whist club, where suppers were generally served after the play. In all of this my brother-in-law was a full sharer, if not prime mover, and we, as his near connections and former visitors, were expected to take an equal part. He was unmarried, of a lively temperament, fully inclined to enter into any festivities that came in his way, and deservedly popular. But he had time on his hands and no special responsibilities. The latter I had. I thought that to go out of an evening—winter evenings, too,—with no trustworthy person to leave to look after the children, was often out of the question. We kept two servant girls, such as they were, but they were usually utterly unreliable, emigrants who knew little and could be trusted less; our mainstay, as we had hoped to find, the woman whom we had brought from England and to whom we had given high wages especially for the children's sake, having left us in accordance with a fatality which always seems to attend those who bring servants from the old country. They soon learn the new ways and become independent. (I may here say however, that we have been tolerably fortunate throughout our Canadian life in the matter of servants, and have never been reduced to the straits and extremities which some writers on the early days have described.)

Thus—to forecaste the future a little—I was by no means sorry when some changes took place in our society and reduced the scale of our gaieties. The family of Major O'H . . . went away, he having succeeded to some Irish property on the one life that stood in his way coming to a sudden end in the hunting fields; and the clergyman followed the fortunes of the Legislative Council, to which he was attached as chaplain, through those wanderings of the Government which only ended when our Gracious Queen put her finger on that spot of the map of Canada where then stood the lumber village of Bytown and now rises the City of Ottawa as its future stationary Capital. These two families were of those to whom I have referred as "thoroughly Irish". Not that this is meant as a term of reproach—quite the reverse. Nor as I believe can there be a greater mistake than to use it in such a connection at all, for I have found Irish people to differ one from another just as much as people of any other race with which I am acquainted. The Revd. Mr. R . . . who with his family succeeded the C . . .'s, was in every respect the complete contrast of his predecessor. With him I had many tastes and pursuits in common; he remained for a great many years, and his family and my own grew up side by side on terms of the quietest and closest intimacy.

In the Spring succeeding our first winter I took my wife to see the Falls of Niagara. I had myself visited them on my westward tour, but they are not of the class of spectacle that custom states. Little can be said about the Falls that has not been said already—all sorts of things, right and wrong, sage and foolish, have been spoken and written; nor should I mention them here but for one point which I have never seen touched upon, and on which, as I am perhaps competent to speak, I will venture to remark. Pictorial representations of the scene are generally incorrect. In paintings and panoramas it is usually made to appear as if the two Falls swept in one majestic curve across the whole river, only divided by an island in the middle. By this the whole effect is greatly enhanced, and it is a remarkable proof of how even the sublimity of this grand spectacle may be added to by art.

I took no more holidays—little guessing then how long it would be before I had another—and the years sped on, generally speaking, in an even tenor. With the climate I continued more than satisfied, and found that a great deal of misconception had existed in England with regard to it, and for that matter exists to this day. The remarks made by two of my friends have been already mentioned; a third, with whom I had passed the winter in Rome, and whom I found, when I went to say good-by to him in a gloomy little house in Berners Street, and shivering in the east wind of April, said languidly, "Well I must say, if I went abroad, I should like to go somewhere that the sun sometimes shines and the birds sing." After these evil prophecies to find summers of fire-flies, humming-birds, and peaches ripened in open orchards, was an agreeable surprise; and instead of the "Nine months Winter" I *have* since seen vessels—though this I admit is rare—sailing in the open lake in the months of January and March of the same year. The work I never objected to. I had known that it must be done, and, though not always well done, I knew it was done to the best of my ability, and I made steady progress. Having as I had the strongest possible motive for learning my new business, I devoted myself to it with the same ardor, if not with the same love, that I had formerly given to my art. I might give many extracts from my journals of that date in proof of this, but there is no occasion to enter more into detail than to say that I lent a hand in all the manifold occupations of the farm to the extent of my strength and skill, and that in both of these improvement came with practice. I turned out to be a good economist of time and space, and learned how to make my head save my hands and my heels, and gradually made myself master of the how, why, when, and where of all that went on—in face of its "just so". As to recreation I never wanted for books or newspapers, abundance of which were always lent and sent to me. I kept up my interest in the affairs of the country I had left, if not as yet able to take a very deep one in those of the country I had adopted; and it is safe to say that time never hung heavily on my hands.

Of course things did not always run quite smoothly. Sometimes a child would ail and cause anxiety; there was a "black Monday" when chimney and stove-pipes were all on fire at once, and on the same afternoon through the carelessness of the man servant a fine horse was drowned; there were now and then petty disagreements with neighbors when my opinions or practice would come in collision with their's till time taught forbearance and the necessity of give and take; but such occasional unpleasantness must be looked for as inevitable in all lives. I believe I may truly say that through the course of a long life no man has had better neighbors, nor lived on better terms with them than I have. And I again repeat—as it has been the key-note of my whole life since—that far more to my liking than any more—so called—higher social intercourse, has been the tranquil daily life which began with those first four years of my possession of my Canadian farm.

TRAFALGAR TOWNSHIP IN 1817

Edited by Hazel C. Mathews

Soon after his arrival in Upper Canada the Scotsman Robert Gourlay decided to publish a statistical account of the province in order to stimulate emigration from Britain to Canada. He addressed a letter through the medium of the *Niagara Spectator* to the resident landowners in all the townships of the province in order "to gain the most authentic intelligence concerning this country for the information of our fellow subjects and Government at home."[1] His inquiry took the form of a questionnaire, and it was the last question, number 31, that aroused the attention of the authorities: "What, in your opinion, most retards the Improvement of your Township in particular, or the Province in general; and what would most contribute to the same?" Since most of the replies were quite as frank as that which he received from Trafalgar Township, a great hue and cry was raised in government circles. The administration chose to regard the questionnaire as seditious, and Gourlay was denounced as a dangerous agitator and preacher of disloyalty. He was imprisoned in the following year and in 1819 banished from the country. The *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* appeared in London in 1822.

As one might expect, in this work Gourlay did not publish in full the information with which he was supplied. The document that follows is the complete reply to the questionnaire of 1817 and offers for the first time certain information concerning the young settlement of Trafalgar Township omitted from Gourlay's work. The writer first uncovered a transcription of part of the following document during the course of her researches on Halton County connected with the book *Oakville and the Sixteen* (Toronto, the University of Toronto Press, 1953) but she did not recognize its significance at the time. When some years later she again encountered a fragment, this time incorporated in an old newspaper clipping, she recognized that the transcription reproduced below was a copy of the letter addressed to Gourlay by the resident landowners of Trafalgar Township. The portions of the document not published in the *Statistical Account* appear below in italics. A comparison of the remainder of the transcript with Gourlay's published text (pages 358-365) discloses that the latter made many alterations of style, particularly in punctuation and capitalization, in the course of editing the letter for publication.

Mr. Robert Gourlay.

Sir:

At a meeting of the inhabitants of our Township holden on the 27th November 1817 at the house of Daniel Munn, Innkeeper, the following answers were framed in reply to your queries, as they appeared to us in the Niagara Spectator:—

---

[1] *Letters to the resident land owners of Upper Canada, by Robert Gourlay and replies to Mr. Gourlay* (Kingston, 1818), 21.

1st. The name of our Township is Trafalgar. It is situated in the County of Halton, in the District of Gore, in the Province of Upper Canada, about 21 miles from Little York. It is 8 3/4 miles in length, and about 7 miles in breadth. It is bounded on the Northwest and North by a large tract of land yet in the possession of a nation of Indians called Misisagua. It is bounded on the Northeast by the Township of Toronto and on the East and Southeast by the Lake Ontario, and on the Southwest and West by the Township of Nelson. It is divided into 210 lots, most of which contain 200 acres each, excepting on the Lake shore, where they are irregular according to the bearings of the lake. The lots are 21 chains in breadth, and 100 chains in length.

2nd. The first settlement of our Township began in the Spring and Summer of 1807.

The number of people is five hundred and forty-eight.

The number of houses inhabited are ninety-seven.

3rd. No churches. There are two preachers who preach alternately, they belong to the sectary called Methodists according to the institution of the late Rev. John Wesley.

4th. Of Medical practitioners we have none.

5th. We have three schools in this Township. The price per quarter is two dollars and boarding found.

6th. We have no stores in this town.

7th. We have four Taverns.[2]

8th. We have one Grist Mill, and four Saw mills. The rate of grinding is one twelfth; The rate of sawing is one half when the sawlogs are carried to the mill.

9th. The surface of the land is level, the top soil is clay mixed with loam and a little gravel; under that is clay mostly of red color.

10th. Our timber consists of Oak, two kinds, white and red. Pine (very large) of the white kind; Beach, Maple, two kinds, sugar Maple and soft Maple; Ash, two kinds, the black or swamp Ash and white Ash; Basswood, Hickory, elm, white and red, Hemlock; Ironwood; Chestnut, Some Birch, Suckling Ash; Some Cedar; Some Butternut, and a little Tamerack. The timber mostly large and stands thick on the land.

11th. Respecting minerals, there is a considerable quantity of the mineral of iron called bog oar; also a few Salt Springs of an inferior kind.

12th. Building stones we have none excepting a few which may be found over the land of a very indifferent kind.

13th. A few brick have been made, their price is six dollars per thousand.

14th. No lime has been burnt in this Township, nor has any Limestone quarries been discovered.

15th. Blacksmiths here most generally work by the pound, that is 7½ d per pound. When the iron and steel are found, and 1s. 3d. when the Blacksmith finds the materials. To this there are some exceptions but not many. *Carpenters work by the day, or by the job; By the day it is a*

---

[2] Tavern Licenses granted by the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Home District (Transciption of Minutes at the Toronto Public Library):
1811—Joshua Pollard "recommended as fitting person to keep a common Inn Ale House at his home."
1814—Licenses of Daniel Munn renewed.
1816—New Licenses granted to Edward Clark and Ezekiel Post.
1817—Taverns required to close at 9 p.m. in winter and 10 p.m. in summer.

dollar and boarding included, by the job it is according to the quantity of the labour performed.

16th. Labourers, one hundred dollars per annum; by the winter months eight dollars; per summer months fourteen to fifteen dollars. Per day in harvest, to such as can cradle wheat, or can rake and bind after a cradler, it is a bushel of wheat, or its price, prompt payment. For those who can only rake or bind it is half price. Woman servants have mostly a dollar per week. In all these cases boarding and lodging included.

17th. The price of mowing grass for hay and reaping grain is from four to five shillings per day according to the price of wheat (as the greater part of the wages here is regulated by the price of wheat). Cradling wheat is a bushel of wheat or its price as above.

18th. Clearing and fencing of land when all the timber is cut off, costs twelve dollars per acre; so that a field containing five acres would cost sixty dollars. But the common custom of our Township is to cut down no more at first, than the timber which is a foot in diameter, measured about two feet and a half from the root of the tree, and all under that size, and the rest they girdle and kill with the axe; in this state it will produce nearly as good a crop as if all were cut down, and this only costs six dollars per acre, *in both cases boarding and lodging included.* The rest of the timber is cut down by degrees, for fencing and for firewood, etc. etc.

19th. A good work horse may be had from fifty to sixty dollars. A good cow from eighteen to twenty dollars; A good sheep of the same age (four years) for two to three dollars. A yoke of oxen four years old from fifty to seventy dollars.

20th. The average quantity of wool produced by a sheep is two and a half. Its price is one shilling and ten pence half-penny per pound.

21st. Beasts are turned out about the first of May and taken in about the first of December.

22nd. Sleighing lasts about three months, that is beginning about the 1st of January and ends about the last of March. Plowing begins about the 20th of April.

23rd. Season of Sowing wheat, is from the 25th of August till the 1st of October. The time of harvesting said grain is from the 20th of July till the end of August.

24th. The quantity of wheat to be sown on one acre is from a bushel and a peck to a bushel. An average crop is from fifteen to twenty-five bushels per acre.

25th. Respecting pasture, as the wild woods constitute our principal pasture-lands, we have not yet made sufficient experiments to enable us to answer your query. But our meadow land will generally produce one ton per acre, *and an ox of four years old will generally gain two hundred weight by a Summer's run in our woods and his meat will be well flavoured. Our Dairy produce is of an excellent quality. Butter sells for a shilling a pound. Cheese the same price.*

26th. The ordinary course of cropping on new land is Wheat the first year harrowed in and sometimes a crop of oats are harrowed in the spring on the stubble. Then it is sown down with Timothy or clover, or both together and is used for meadow for three or four years till the roots rot in the ground and then plowed up, after which Buckwheat or peas are generally sown first, and then wheat perhaps the same season and then peas or Buckwheat, or oats and then wheat, and so on alternately. Little or no manure is used, but new land and Orchards require it most.

27th. Land is frequently let on the shares on the following terms: If new, the Leasor finds the Leasee in teams in boarding, in farming utensils and in half the seed, and then receives one half the produce: if old land the Leasee finds everything, The Leasor has one third of the produce; if the Leasor finds everything, the Leasee has only one third of the produce. Enough of land can be had on either of these ways.

28th. *Land at the first settling of our Township sold for a dollar and a half per acre; it now sells from four to five dollars per acre. Also* a farm of two hundred acres with a log house and barn upon it, with 40 acres cleared in the customary way, may be had for *fifteen hundred dollars* [£375 in *Statistical Account*]. If frame buildings are upon it, a greater price, but seldom in proportion to the buildings.

29th. The quantity of land for sale we cannot justly describe, but we suppose three or four thousand acres. And there are but few farmers in our Township who would not even sell their improved farms if they had the offer of a good price.

30th. The state of the public roads at present is but indifferent, but they are capable of improvement at a very moderate expense, as the face of our country is generally level. Great improvement might be made by means of canals and locks. Respecting our navigation, we are situated on the Coast of Lake Ontario, and thence we have the benefit of all the adjoining waters. Beside we have two very fine streams call the Twelve and Sixteen mile creeks. These can be made navigable for boats, some part of the year four miles from the mouth, to communicate with our mills on Dundas Street. The mouth of the Sixteen, where it empties into Lake Ontario is navigable for vessels of a considerable burden, and forms a safe and commodious harbour.

31st. The causes which retard the improvement of our Township and the Province at large are various. The first and principal cause you have already very justly observed, that is, the want of a Capital. This may perhaps be best illustrated by facts. Know then that the greater number of our farmers when they first settle in the wild woods, have little more property than a cow, a yoke of oxen, a log chain, and an axe, and some have a little or no property at all but their axe alone. The family generally consists of a man and his wife and a number of young children. Unable to hire hands, the whole labour naturally devolves upon the man: And hence it is that for six or seven years till such time as the roots of the timber begin to rot in the ground, so that he can use the plough, and until the oldest of his children grow up to help him his toil is incessant. Four or five acres are all that he is able to clear and sow in a season and that is generally put in so late that it produces but little, so that the whole crop will scarcely support him through the year, but many times he has to work out for a part of his bread. Clothes he must have for himself and family, and these must be got out of the store, and Merchants goods are very dear in this province, and as he hath nothing to pay with he is obliged to go on credit. These in a few years soon run up high, so that by the time he gets his farm in such a state of improvement as might enable him to live comfortable, he is frequently obliged to sell it, in order to pay off his debts. Such is the consequence of beginning poor. But this you will observe is only the gloomy side of things; For those who are so fortunate as to weather out the storm of the first ten years without sinking their plantations are generally enabled to spend the remainder of their days in comfort. The scarcity of labourers and the very high price of labour so that the produce will scarcely pay the hands, forms another hinderance to the improvement of our Township and the Province at large.

Another hinderance is that in many places of this Province, large tracts of land have been granted to certain individuals, and these being generally men of fortune are under no necessity of selling their lands, but hold them at so high a price that poor people are not able to buy them. Again there are many of these gentlemen gone out of the Province so that there is no opportunity of purchase from them. So it still remains a wilderness. And the poor people who are settled around such tracts have roads to make, and every other public duty to perform at their own expence, which greatly enhances the value of the land, to the great injury of the inhabitants.

Another hinderance respecting our township is that a great number of lots are reserved for the Crown and the Clergy, and notwithstanding that these lots might be rented for 21 years for a very small sum of money, yet the land in this Province had hitherto been so plenty and cheap that no one cares for renting land who can have it in fee simple; hence it is that the greater number of them still remain unsettled; But when settlers become numerous this evil will soon be done away.

What in our opinion would most contribute to the improvement of our Township and the Province at large would be to encourage men of property into the Country to purchase the wast[e] lands of our Province which if sold even at a moderate price would introduce such a flow of Capital into our Province as would not only encourage a respectable race of settlers of every description to come in and cultivate the face of the country, and turn the wilderness into fruitful fields, but it would also make trade and manufactury of all kinds flourish. Then would our Province no longer remain poor neglected and unknown to the rest of the world but she would add a large revenue to the British Crown and her redundances would contribute to feed the hungry and clothe the poor of other nations.

Sir:—We have also seen your second address with your additional Queries, which we answer as follows:—

32nd. We know of none in Upper Canada whom we would sooner trust to publish the statistics of our Province then yourself.

33rd. We are willing therefore to trust the whole to your own veracity and may the highest success crown your labours.

It is true we have seen a parcel of heterageneous stuff in the Niagara Spectator, printed against your plan, which like the Palace of Vanity appears to have no foundation; and like it too, shall vanish into air yes into thin air, and leaves not a trace behind.

Indeed, such illtimed jargon quite unsupported by reason, will only serve to urge the business on more rapidly; and here Sir is a striking proof for it has reminded us at the end of our work of what we should have done in the beginning, namely, to jointly offer you our warmest thanks for the strenuous efforts you have made, and the spirit of benevolence you have displayed in endeavouring to promote the prosperity of our Province, and the happiness of our fellow subjects. *We have used Provincial Currency in all our calculations, which is five shillings to the dollar, excepting where we have mentioned dollars.*

James McBride, J.P.	James Thomson
Daniel Munn	Benjamin Smith
Charles Bigger	Nathaniel Cornwal
Duncan M'Queen	James Hopper

Absalom Smith
James Bigger
Michel Buck
Timothy Robins
Amos Bigger
Henry Loucks
Lawrence Hager
Joseph Smith[3]

---

[3] *James McBride* occupied Clergy Reserve Lot no. 34, 1st Concession North Dundas Street [hereafter referred to as N.D.S.] No further data.

Daniel Munn (1779-1822), secured a Crown Grant as settler of Lot no. 15, 1st Concession South Dundas Street [hereafter S.D.S.] (Munn's Corners at the 6th Line), married Millicent, daughter of Jordan Post and sister of Ephraim and Ezekiel Post of Post's Corners (7th Line and the Dundas Street). In 1804 Daniel Munn was appointed constable in the Town of York (*Ontario Archives, Twenty-First Report*, "Minutes of the Court of Quarter Sessions for the Home District.") This farm was in possession of descendants until only a few years ago.

Charles Bigger (1786-1860), was the son of John Bigger (1760-1841) and Jemima Pettit, daughter of Charles Pettit who migrated from New Jersey in 1790 to settle in Grimsby Township. He married Sarah, daughter of Andrew and Sarah (Smith) Pettit who migrated from New Jersey in 1787, and settled in Grimsby Township. Charles secured a Crown Grant of Lot no. 19, 1st Concession N.D.S. In 1831 he was gazetted lieutenant-colonel, 2nd Regiment of Gore Militia.

Duncan McQueen, no data.

Absalom Smith (1788-1861), was the son of John and Hanna (Wilcox) Smith of Sussex County, New Jersey, who migrated at close of Revolutionary War to settle in Grimsby Township. Absalom was born at Grimsby and married Mary, daughter of John Beamer. He obtained (not by Crown Grant) and occupied Lot no. 27, 1st Concession N.D.S. (now Palermo). A Reformer, he sheltered William Lyon Mackenzie during his flight in 1837 and supplied him with dry clothing after swimming the Sixteen. For fuller genealogical data on the Smith family see R. Janet Powell, editor, *Annals of the Forty*, Number 8 (Grimsby Historical Society, 1957).

James Bigger (1787-), and brother of Charles Bigger (see above), married Sarah Kenney and settled on Lot no. 18, 1st Concession S.D.S.

Michel Buck, no data but he was undoubtedly a descendant of Philip Buck, U.E.

Timothy Robins, no data.

James Thomson, was a son of Archibald Thomson of Stamford Township who had fought as volunteer in Indian Department under Joseph Brant during the American Revolution. James obtained a Crown Grant as the son of United Empire Loyalist, of Lot no. 14, 1st Concession N.D.S. In 1814 he was Assessor of Trafalgar Township. On March 21, 1845, he was injured by a fall from a horse and died the following day. (See "Diary of Charles Sovereign", in Ontario Archives).

Benjamin Smith (1783-1850), was a brother of Absalom Smith (see above), was born in New Jersey, and married Catherine, daughter of Henry Shook (Schuck). He secured a Crown Grant as settler of Lot no. 31, 1st Concession S.D.S., and like his brother was a Reform partisan during the 1837 troubles.

Nathaniel Cornwall was a private in the Second Flank Company, 2nd Regiment, York Militia ("Trafalgar Township Papers," in Ontario Archives).

James Hopper, no data.

Amos Bigger (1790-), brother of Charles Bigger (see above), married Margaret, daughter of John Pettit of Grimsby, and settled on Lot no. 20, 1st Concession S.D.S.

Henry Loucks, no data.

Lawrence Hagar (1784-1870), was born in New Jersey, and was the eldest son of David Hagar and Elizabeth Fonger who migrated 1790 to settle in Clinton Township. He married Susannah, daughter of John Teetzel. David secured a Crown Grant of Lot no. 31, 1st Concession N.D.S. (Palermo, first known as Hagerstown) upon which Lawrence settled. A prominent Methodist, he was popularly known as "Uncle Lau":

"The earliest chapel in the township was the Trafalgar Chapel on the Dundas Street around which the village of Palermo sprang up. According to the Reverend Anson Green, who preached there in 1826-8, the church was small but well filled; the class lively, and its leader, Brother Lawrence Hagar, "stirs them up as an eagle stirs up her nest." (*Oakville and the Sixteen*, 92). After the Methodist split of 1833 Brother Hagar customarily sat in his own chair, set just under the pulpit. When the preacher expressed views with which he was in agreement he would say "Amen," but when he was opposed he took up his chair forthwith and removed to the other church. He rarely remained long in either church.

Joseph Smith (1781-1832), brother of Absalom and Benjamin Smith (see above), was born in New Jersey and married Margaret, daughter of John and Dinah Moore. He secured a Crown Grant as settler of Lot no. 29, 1st Concession S.D.S. and like his brothers was a Reform supporter.

BOOK NOTES

Winter and Spring, 1959-1960

Bishop, Olga. "Checklist of Historical Works on Western Ontario in the Libraries of the University of Western Ontario: Lambton County; Essex County" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XV (4), December 1959, 59-23; XVI (1), March 1960, 32-39).

Bladen, Vincent W. "A Journal is Born" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXVI (1), February 1960, 1-5). The story behind the launching of the journal in February 1935 by one of the original committee members.

Bourinot, Arthur S., editor. *Some Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott, Archibald Lampman, and Others* (Ottawa: The author, 158 Carleton Road, Rockcliffe Park. 1959. Pp. 63, illustrated. $3.50). Letters to and from Scott, the poet and Ottawa civil servant, principally written during the 1940's and dealing mainly with publishing and biographical matters. Correspondents besides Lampman include Dr. J. G. Bourinot, E. K. Brown, Dr. Lorne Pierce, and others.

Boyle, Gertrude M. and Colbeck, Marjorie, editors. *A Bibliography of Canadiana, First Supplement.* (Toronto: The Public Library. 1959. Pp. x, 335, illustrated). This volume carries to 1959 the valuable catalogue of printed materials in the Toronto Public Library dealing with the discovery and settlement of Canada to 1867 which first appeared in 1934 under the direction of Frances Staton and Marie Tremaine.

Brebner, J. Bartlet. *Canada, a Modern History.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, and Toronto: Ambassador Books. 1960. The University of Michigan History of the Modern World. Pp. xviii, 553, maps. $10.00). A survey history of Canada prepared by the late Professor of History at Columbia University, New York City, with a final chapter by Professor D. C. Masters, Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec.

Callwood, June. "Maclean's" (*Canadian Forum*, XXXIX, No. 467, December 1959, 199-200). Founded by John B. Maclean, Toronto publisher, in 1904, the magazine adopted its present name in July 1911 and is now read by two million Canadians each fortnight.

Campbell, Marjorie Freeman. "The Day Niagara Stood Still" (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LX (1), January 1960, 28-33). As the result of an ice jam that blocked the outlet of Lake Erie the Niagara River ran dry for approximately thirty hours on March 30 and 31, 1848, allowing residents to cross the bed on foot, to pick up relics, and to blast away jagged obstructions to navigation.

Canada. Public Archives of Canada. Manuscript Division. *Preliminary Inventory, Manuscript Group 27: Political Figures, 1867-1948.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. 64. 50 cents). An invaluable catalogue of manuscript and microfilm holdings of the Public Archives of papers of Colonial Secretaries, Governors-General, Lieutenant-Governors, Cabinet Ministers, Members of the House of Commons and Senate, Provincial Political Figures, etc. A large number of the collections contain superlative source materials for any number of serious studies of Ontario's history.

Canada. Public Archives of Canada. Manuscript Division. *Preliminary Inventory, Record Group 2: Privy Council Office, and Record Group 3: Post Office Department.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. 21. 50

cents). The Privy Council manuscripts include Minutes and Orders in Council, submissions to and dispatches from the Council, Minute Books, etc. Besides general materials the Post Office manuscripts include such sources for Ontario history as the correspondence of Deputy Postmaster General T. A. Stayner (1841-1851) and correspondence with divisional inspectors at Barrie, Kingston, London, Ottawa, Stratford and Toronto, principally for the period 1870 to 1900.

Canadian Polish Congress. Polish Research Institute in Canada. *The Polish Past in Canada*, edited by Victor Turek. (Toronto: The Congress, and Polish Alliance Press, Limited. 1960. Pp. 138, illustrated. $2.00). Dedicated to Professor W. J. Rose, the collection includes an article on "Paderewski's Concerts in Toronto (1892-1905)" by Aleksander Grobicki and bibliographies of Canadian Polish Imprints and Canadian Items in Polish Periodical Literature which may interest students of Ontario's history.

Colborne Centennial Committee, Frank Harding, Chairman. *The Colborne Story: Colborne Centennial, June 27-July 1st, 1959.* (Colborne: The Committee. 1959. Pp. 92, illustrated). Presents the history of the community in Cramahe Township, Northumberland County, which became a village in 1859, together with the histories of adjoining communities and suburbs, churches, schools, newspapers, businesses and societies.

Colgate, William, Johnston, J. George, et al. *Louis Blake Duff.* (Port Colborne: Privately printed for George H. Smith. 1959. Pp. 24, illustrated). A collection of tributes to the memory of the late newspaperman, businessman and local historian, by J. George Johnston, William Colgate (reprinted from the *Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1959), and editorials from the *Globe and Mail*, the *Evening Tribune* (Welland), and the Fort Erie *Times-Review.*

Craig, H. A. "The Medal of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada: An Interesting Souvenir of the War of 1812" (*Canadian Numismatic Journal*, V (3), March 1960, 130-31). A summary of the article by the same writer in the preceding issue of *Ontario History*, LII (1), March 1960, pages 31-52.

Danard, Jean. "The Mystery of the Miller Site" (*Imperial Oil Review*, XLIV (1), February 1960, 6-9). An account in word and picture of the archaeological work at the Miller Site near Pickering described in the past number of *Ontario History*, LII (1), March 1960, 63-67.

Dewdney, Selwyn. "Stone Age Art in the Canadian Shield" (*Canadian Art*, XVI (3), August 1959, 164-67, 208). An account of the stylistic rock paintings, or pictographs, inspected and recorded by the writer during three seasons' work in northern and western Ontario. Nearly all employed a red pigment and the painting was apparently drawn by the painter's finger as he sat or stood in a canoe.

Dunning, R. W. *Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 217. $5.50). A predominantly sociological study of the Ojibwa of Pekangekum, Northern Ontario, among whom the author lived during 1954-55 while preparing his doctoral dissertation for King's College, Cambridge.

Fleming, Roy A. "Disaster on the Thames River, near London, Ontario" (*Inland Seas*, XV (4), Winter 1959, 299-305). While on a Victoria Day trip to Springbank Park in 1881, the ship *Victoria* capsized with a loss of 185 lives.

Foster, W. T. "Forest Protection in Ontario" (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LX (2), February 1960, 38-57). Beginning with the first fire prevention act of 1878, Ontario has gradually developed its forest protection system to its present highly-efficient level.

Fraser, Blair. "The Vast and Turbulent Empire of the Siftons"; "The Many, Mighty Siftons" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (25), 15-17, 83-86; LXXII (26), 18-19, 52-54). Stories of the family, descended from Charles Sifton who emigrated to Canada from Ireland in 1819, which rose to prominence in politics and business during the present century.

Fraser, Robert J. *As Others See Us: Scots of the Seaway Valley.* (Beamsville: The Beamsville Express. Pp. 328, illustrated, maps. $7.50). A "biographical miscellany" centred about five Fraser brothers who emigrated from Inverness-shire and settled in the Upper Canada-Lower Canada border country between 1818 and 1829, and dealing also with numerous descendants and interrelated families principally in the Eastern Counties of Ontario.

Frayne, Trent. *The Queen's Plate: The First Hundred Years.* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1959. Pp. 168, illustrated. $7.50). The story of the "oldest continuously run horse race in North America", the first race of which was held on June 27, 1860 and whose one hundredth renewal at New Woodbine racetrack, Toronto, was attended by Queen Elizabeth II.

Goodwin, C. D. W. "John Rae: Undiscovered Exponent of Canadian Banking" (*Canadian Banker*, LXVI (3), Winter 1959, 110-15). John Rae, the brilliant economist who lived and worked unrecognized in Glengarry County and Hamilton from 1822 to 1848, evolved his unorthodox theories of money and banking through observing the methods used by pioneer Upper Canadian bankers, merchants and farmers to carry out business transactions in the absence of currency.

Graham, B. L. "Grandma Used 'Em" (*Ontario Hydro News*, XLVII (3), March 1960, 18-21). Describes some of the materials displayed at the Upper Canada Village Museum of the Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission at Morrisburg.

Guillet, Edwin C. *In the Cause of Education.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 472, illustrated. $7.00). Through the medium of the annual conventions the author reviews the changing character of the Ontario Educational Association in the century that has passed since it was organized in January 1861 at a meeting in the old County Courthouse, Adelaide Street, Toronto.

Gundy, H. P. "Major John Richardson, 1796-1852" (*Douglas Library Notes*, VIII (3), December 1959, 1-4). The life and work of the long-neglected author and journalist who "would derive wry satisfaction from the posthumous fame and improbable prices that his own first and early editions now fetch." Includes the text of a letter of Richardson's, dated October 20, 1847, describing his efforts to induce the British government to present campaign medals to Canadian militia veterans of the War of 1812 as well as to British regulars.

Hall, G. Edward. "Sir Adam Beck" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XVI (1), March 1960, 19-27). A copy of an address to the Ontario Traffic Association in London, Ontario, on April 10, 1956.

Heilbron, Bertha L. "Artist as Buffalo Hunter: Paul Kane and the Red River Half-breeds" (*Minnesota History*, XXXVI (8), December 1959, 309-14). In the course of his journey across the continent in 1846-47, the artist accompanied the metis of Red River on their June hunt along the Pembina River. His experiences are recorded by several paintings and a section of his book, "Wanderings of an Artist".

Heyl, Erik. "The Civil War and Great Lakes Steamers" (*Inland Seas*, XV (4), Winter 1959, 256-70). Ships studied include five Canadian vessels which transferred to the Atlantic to do charter work for the United States Government or to run the Union blockade; also two British-built blockade-runners which operated as Canadian ships on the Great Lakes after the end of the Civil War.

Jury, Elsie McLeod, and Jury, Wilfrid. *The Establishment at Penetanguishene, Bastion of the North, 1814-1856.* (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario. Museum of Indian Archaeology, Bulletin No. 12. 1959. Pp. 55, illustrated. $1.00). An archaeological and historic study of the British base, established in 1814 as part of an effort to maintain control of the Upper Lakes and maintained as a garrison centre till 1856.

Kelsay, Isabel T. "Joseph Brant: The Legend and the Man" (*New York History*, XL (4), October 1959, 368-79). The writer, the author of a forthcoming biography of Brant, recounts her efforts to separate the documented truth about Brant's life and character from the thick under-growth of contemporary rumour and latter-day legend that make him "a historian's dream—or is it nightmare?".

Kenyon, Walter A. *The Inverhuron Site, Bruce County, Ontario, 1957.* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum. 1959. Occasional Paper No. 1, Art and Archaeology Division. Pp. iv, 51, illustrated. $1.00). A description of the site and excavation work together with an analysis of the Archaic, Point Peninsula, Woodland and Iroquoian materials discovered during the summer of 1957. Inverhuron is situated on the shore of Lake Huron between the towns of Southampton and Kincardine, and the site is now a Provincial Park.

Kidd, Kenneth E. "A Dugout Canoe from Ontario" (*American Antiquity*, XXV (3), January 1960, 417-18). A description of a 20-foot dugout canoe, probably of considerable age, found in shallow water at Balsam Lake, Victoria County, in 1957.

Kingston Historical Society. *Historic Kingston No. 8.* (Kingston: The Society. 1959. Pp. 54, illustrated). Contents include "A Voyage from Bristol to Quebec, 1843" by Dr. H. C. Burleigh (pages 3-13); "Ernest Pascoe Goodwin: A Queen's Man—Class of '88" by Col. D. F. McRae pages 14-23); "Bishop Strachan and the Archdeaconry of Kingston, 1840-1848" by Dr. D. M. Scherman (pages 24-33); "Strachan and Stuart Letters at Queen's" by H. P. Gundy (pages 34-39); "The Development of Municipal Government in the Bay of Quinte Area" by M. H. Young (pages 40-49); and "Daniel Fowler, R.C.A., 1810-1894" by Dr. Charles Comfort (pages 50-53).

Knight, F. Stanley. *Peter Fuller 1826-1890 Diary.* (Meaford: The author. 1959. Pp. 35, illustrated). Contains excerpts from seven diaries kept by Mr. Fuller at intervals between the years 1852 and 1872, or the time between Fuller's settlement at Centreville and his moving to live in Meaford.

McDougall, Robert L., editor. *Our Living Tradition, Second and Third Series.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. 288. $6.50). Among the twelve moulders of Canadian thought examined are such Ontario residents as George Brown (by J. M. S. Careless), Egerton Ryerson (by Robin S. Harris), John S. Ewart (by David M. L. Farr), and poets Duncan Campbell Scott (by A. J. M. Smith) and Isabella Valency Crawford (by James Reaney).

McIlwraith, T. F. "Bibliography of Anthropological Literature for 1956 and 1957". (in Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. National Museum of Canada. *Bulletin No. 162*, "Contributions to Anthropology 1957". (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. iii, 203, illustrated. $2.00), 165-203). A number of the 400-odd items summarized and evaluated in this bibliography deal with Ontario subjects.

MacIntosh, C. G. W. "Still Going Strong" (*Ontario Hydro News*, XLVII (4), April 1960, 11-12, 24). Streetsville still derives some of its electric power from a 53-year-old hydro-electric plant built as a municipal venture in 1906-7 upon the site of a defunct flax mill on the Credit River.

Millman, T. R. "Canadian Anglican Journalism in the Nineteenth Century" (*Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, III (5), March 1959, 1-19). A useful survey which includes the publications of the Anglican Dioceses of Ontario, Toronto, Huron and Algoma.

Mushum, H. A. "Early Great Lakes Steamboats—Hard Times and the Erie Disaster, 1840-1841" (*American Neptune*, XX (2), April 1960, 79-103). Ships, shipping and trade on the Great Lakes during the depression years after 1837. The *Erie* disaster occurred on August 9, 1841 when the steamboat burned and sank with a loss of some 200 lives while some 33 miles out of Buffalo en route for Chicago.

Myers, Frank A. "History of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Little Current, Ontario" (*Inland Seas*, XV (4), Winter 1959, 276-82; and XVI (1), Spring 1960, 46-59). The third and fourth parts of a series, these carry the account down to 1942 when the post building was burned after having served as the private dwelling of the Abrey and Sims families.

Newman, Peter C. *Flame of Power*. (Toronto: Longman's Green and Company. 1959. Pp. 264, $4.50). Studies of eleven wealthy or powerful Canadian businessmen, including E. P. Taylor, Sir James Dunn and Sir Harry Oakes.

Ontario. Committee on the Organization of Government in Ontario, W. L. Gordon, Chairman. *Report* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1959. Pp. iii, 467). A valuable survey of the evolution of the various departments, boards, commissions and agencies of the government of Ontario to their respective positions in 1959.

Ontario. Department of Education. *Illustrations of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1960). Eight leaflets illustrating the five legislative buildings since 1792, the officers and work of the provincial parliament, prepared for Commonwealth Day, May 20, 1960.

Ontario. Department of Planning and Development. *North Grey Region Conservation Report*. (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1959. Paged by sections, illustrated, mimeographed, limited edition). Subjects dealt with in the 94-page historical section (Part I) by R. M. Lewis are The Indians and the French, Survey and Settlement, Owen Sound Settlement, Roads, Railways, Owen Sound and Meaford, Mills, Agriculture. There is also considerable historical material in other sections of the work, notably the sections on Forests and Water. The region embraces an area of 649.6 square miles drained by the Beaver, Bighead, Sydenham and other rivers into Nottawasaga Bay and Owen Sound.

Ontario. Department of Planning and Development. Community Planning Branch. *The Sudbury Area, Factors of the Regional Environment.* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. iv, 65, illustrated, mimeographed). This study, covering 24 townships of the Sudbury basin containing 114,000 inhabitants, examines particularly the growth of the region since 1946 and the social, institutional and administrative changes resulting from that growth.

Pacey, Desmond. "A Colonial Romantic: Major John Richardson, Soldier and Novelist" (*Canadian Literature*, No. 2, Autumn 1959, 20-31; and No. 3, Winter 1960, 47-56). A study of the character and chequered career of the celebrated author who was born at Queenston in 1796, went to England to live in 1815, returned to Canada in 1838, and died in New York City in 1852.

Phelps, Edward. "Lambton County—Some Bibliographical Notes" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XV (4), December 1959, 64-67). A supplement to Miss Bishop's list in the same issue.

Phelps, Edward. "Lambton County Journalism—A Preliminary Survey" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XV (4), December 1959, 1-45). A valuable catalogue of 41 "original and separate ventures in journalism", commencing with *The Frontier Spectator* of Sarnia (actually printed at Port Huron) which appeared briefly in 1841. Since copies of few of the journals are extant, the author traced most through the medium of references in contemporary publications.

Phelps, Edward. "Lambton County Post-Offices—Some Notes, 1837-1867" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XV (4), December 1959, 46-58). Post offices, postmasters, mail contracts and other information on the period in which Lambton's first post offices were established (6 in 1837) and increased to 41 by the time of Confederation.

Pope, Sir Joseph. *Public Servant*: *The Memoirs of Sir Joseph Pope.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. 312, illustrated. $4.50). The author, a distinguished civil servant, diplomat, historian and confidant of Sir John A. Macdonald and succeeding prime ministers, prepared his memoirs down to 1907. These have been edited and the story carried down to Sir Joseph's death in 1926 by his son Maurice Pope. The result is a fascinating account of the author's experiences, his contemporaries, and of Ottawa life and society for almost half a century after 1878.

Porter, McKenzie. "The Four Fabulous Lives of Samuel Zacks" (*Maclean's*, LXXIII (9), 16-19, 68-69, 71-74). The story of the Toronto financier and art collector.

Porter, McKenzie, "Varley" (*Maclean's*, LXXII (24), November 21, 1959, 31-33, 62-66, 71). The life and work of Frederick H. Varley, English-born artist now living in Unionville.

Powell, R. Janet, compiler. *Annals of the Forty, No. 10*: *Grimsby, 1816-1876.* (Grimsby: Grimsby Historical Society. 1959. Pp. 82, illustrated). The story, with documents, of Grimsby's progress from 1816 when the post office was established and the name "The Forty" abandoned, down to 1876 when Grimsby became incorporated as a village.

Ransford, Henry. "Dates and Events Connected with My Family (1667-1881)" (*Western Ontario History Nuggets*, No. 28, 1959, 1-81). Based upon "a copy of the Henry Ransford Diary" which was brought to the attention of the Editor "through the courtesy of Dr. W. Hurst

Brown of Toronto", the account from pages 36 to 59 is a somewhat expanded version of "The Diary of Henry Ransford" which appeared in *Ontario History*, LI (4), Autumn 1959, pages 250-58.

Reid, J. H. S., McNaught, K., and Crowe, H. S., compilers. *A Source-Book of Canadian History; Selected Documents and Personal Papers.* (Toronto: Longman's Green and Company. 1959. Pp. xvi, 472. $6.00). A most comprehensive collection of documents designed to survey the whole range of Canadian life from discovery to modern times.

Rose, Albert, editor. *A People and Its Faith: Essays on Jews and Reform Judaism in a Changing Canada.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 204. $5.00). The collection, commemorating the centennial of the Holy Blossom Temple in 1956, includes historical studies on "The Canadian Setting" (by G. M. Craig), "The Evolution of the Jewish Community in Toronto" (by B. Keyfetz), "The Contribution of Holy Blossom to its Community" (by S. S. Schipper), and "Ontario's Jews in the Larger Community" (by D. H. Wrong).

Saunders, Leslie H. *The Story of Orangeism.* (Toronto: The Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario West. 1960. Pp. 48, illustrated.). Subtitled "Its origin and history for more than a century and a quarter in Canada, particularly Ontario West", this is the third printing of a work first published in 1941 and has been revised to carry the accounts of activities and catalogue of lodges down to the present.

Shaw, Miss L. M. "Two Hamilton Families" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XVI (1), March 1960, 1-18). Studies of the Baker and Stinson families, prominent in Hamilton's business life. Hugh Cossart Baker (1818-59) was the founder of the Canada Life Assurance Company in 1847 and his son, Hugh Cossart Baker, Junior (1847-1931) in 1877 organized the telephone company which in 1880 became the Bell Telephone Company of Canada.

Shutt, Donald Bethune. "Cross of Lorraine Found in Bruce Peninsula" (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, Midland, XXXIII (1), March 1959, 14-15). A silver Cross of Lorraine and at least two in stone have been discovered in or near Southampton, Ontario, indicating the possibility that the short-lived mission of St. Peter and St. Paul to the Petuns in the 1640's may have been situated in the locality.

Smith, Elspeth, Compiler. *Recording Toronto* (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries. 1960. Pp. 36, illustrated). A catalogue of items in the John Ross Robertson Historical Collection which depict Toronto scenes, arranged under 28 subject catagories.

Stacey, C. P. *Records of the Nile Voyageurs 1884-1885: The Canadian Voyageur Contingent in the Gordon Relief Expedition.* (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1959. Pp. ix, 285, xvi, illustrations and maps. Edition limited to subscriber members). The 386-man Canadian voyageur contingent which aided the Gordon Relief Expedition in its ascent of the Nile was commanded by Major Frederick C. Denison of Toronto, whose diary and other papers constitute a major portion of the documentary materials included in the volume.

Stanley, George F. G. "John Stuart: Father of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada" (*Journal of Canadian Church Historical Society*, III (6), June 1959, 1-13). The life to 1802 of the pioneer missionary to Loyalist and Indian settlers of Quebec and Upper Canada who made his home in Kingston after 1785, based on a number of letters written by Stuart to the Bishops of Nova Scotia and Quebec.

Stewart, Margaret, and French, Doris. *Ask No Quarter: A Biography of Agnes Macphail.* (Toronto: Longman's Green and Company. 1959. Pp. 311. $4.50). The life of the Grey County farm girl and school teacher (1890-1954) who was the first woman to be elected to the Dominion Parliament in 1921. During her many years as a Progressive, U.F.O. and C.C.F. member at Ottawa and Toronto she won the respect of the nation by fearlessly attacking abuses and working tirelessly for innumerable worthy causes.

Taylor, Kenneth W. "Economic Scholarship in Canada" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXVI (1), February 1960, 6-18). The first university course in political economy in Canada was instituted at Queen's University in 1878. Toronto followed in 1888 and McMaster in 1904.

Thomas, W. K. "Canadian Political Oratory in the Nineteenth Century, II and III" (*Dalhousie Review*, XXXIX (2), Summer 1959, 178-191; and XXXIX (3), Autumn 1959, 377-89). The oratorical styles of Sir John A. Macdonald and George Brown are discussed in Part II, "The Order of Competence". Neither, however, is considered the equal of Joseph Howe, the subject of Part III, "The Order of Excellence".

Trott, Elizabeth. "The Financial Post" (*Canadian Forum*, XXXIX, No. 465, October 1959, 149-51). A profile of the financial weekly, published in Toronto since 1907 and now enjoying a circulation of 85,000.

Williams, W. R. "The Foundering of *Manasoo* and *Hibou*" (*Inland Seas*, XV (4), Winter 1959, 283-87). The stories of the two ships operating out of Owen Sound, both of which foundered in Georgian Bay with loss of life (in 1928 and 1936) because of improper loading.

Wilson, Edmund, and Mitchell, Joseph. *Apologies to the Iroquois.* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1959. Pp. vii, 310, illustrated. $5.95). Studies, based on a series of articles in *The New Yorker*, dealing with the recent nationalist resurgence among the Caughnawaga steel-working Mohawks of Quebec, the Mohawks, Onandaga and Senecas of New York State, the Tuscaroras of the Niagara frontier, and the Six Nations Indians of Ontario.

Wright, Don. "Power Pioneer" (*Ontario Hydro News*, XLVI (10), October 1959, 16-17, 21). Reminiscences of John York, 90-year-old electrician associated with Ottawa electric utility companies since 1891.

Yates, Raymond F. *The Niagara Story, Pictorial Guide to Niagara Falls.* (Niagara Falls, Ontario: R. H. Harper, Distributor. 1959. Pp. 56, illustrated. 75c). Prepared mainly for tourists, this booklet is handsomely illustrated and includes many thorough and well-written accounts of the district's past in addition to the usual visitors' information.

Zubkowski, L. Kos-Rabcewicz- and Greening, W. E. *Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski, a Biography.* (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern. 1959. Published under the auspices of the Engineering Institute of Canada. Pp. vi, 213, illustrated. $4.75). The life of the many-sided, Polish-born Canadian (1813-89) who made his mark as an engineer by the construction of numerous railway, canal, harbour and highway projects, in business, politics, militia affairs, and in social and philanthropic endeavours. Also contains genealogical information on the Gzowski family in Poland and Canada.

NOTICE

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION
of the
ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Constitution as now written was published in *Ontario History*, Volume XLVII, No. 1, Winter 1955, pages 39-42, and amended as shown in Volume XLVIII, No. 2, Spring 1956, pages 88-89 and Volume XLIX, No. 2, Spring 1957, page 103. It is proposed that the following amendments, if approved, will take effect July 1, 1960 and that the Constitution, as amended, will be published in full in a forthcoming number of *Ontario History*.

Decision to give this notice was taken at a meeting of the Executive Committee on April 30, 1960. It is expected that these amendments will make for the better management of the Society.

Notice is hereby given that the President, Professor J. M. S. Careless, will move, or cause to be moved, at the annual meeting of the Society at Preston, Ontario, on June 23, 24, and 25, 1960, that the Constitution of the Ontario Historical Society be amended as follows:

2. The second paragraph shall be revised to read:
"The Society shall publish a magazine and other material devoted to the history of the Province, shall hold annual meetings in various cities and towns in the Province, and shall cooperate with the Provincial Archives, the Royal Ontario Museum, and other historical societies and museums in preserving the documents and archaeological artifacts which may contribute to the understanding and interpretation of our history. It may also undertake projects of any nature to encourage and develop within this Province the study of history."

3. The opening paragraph shall be revised to read:
"MEMBERSHIP: The Society shall be composed of the following classes of members: Ex-officio, Corporate, Life, Sustaining, Honorary, Family and Annual", ("Corresponding" being deleted).

3.(a). Add "The Minister of Travel and Publicity for Ontario" after "The Minister of Education for Ontario"; and "The Chairman and Secretary of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario" to follow "The Chairman and Ontario members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada". Delete "The Directors of Provincial and Municipal Archaeological Museums".

3.(b). This sub-section shall be revised to read:
"Corporate membership may be granted by the Executive Committee to any organization or body which is interested in the study and exploration of any phase of the history or archaeology of the Province, on payment of a fee fixed by the Society from time to time for such membership. Each corporate member within the Province of Ontario shall be entitled to appoint a voting delegate to meetings of the Society."

3.(c). This sub-section shall be revised to read:
"Honorary members may be elected by the Society on recommendation of the Executive Committee."

3.(d). Change "Council" to read "Executive Committee".

3.(f). Change "of $5.00" to read "fixed from time to time by the Society".

4. Change "Society's Council" at the end of the second paragraph to read "Executive Committee".
Delete the third paragraph, "Presidents . . . of the Society."
The fourth paragraph shall be revised to read:
"Every affiliated society which has paid its annual fees shall be entitled to have one voting delegate at the annual meeting of the Society."

5. This section shall be revised to read:
"FEES: Annual members, family members and corporate members, and affiliated societies, shall pay an annual fee fixed from time to time by the Society."

6. This section shall be amended to read:
"MANAGEMENT: The affairs of the Society shall be administered by an Executive Committee pursuant to the directions of the annual meeting. This Committee shall have charge of the financial affairs of the Society, and of the arrangements for the issuance of the Society's publications, and, in general, shall attend to all routine business.
It shall consist of:
The Immediate Past President

A President Two Vice-Presidents Six Committee members	elected at the annual meeting of the Society
A Treasurer A Secretary An Editor	appointed or removed by the President with the advice of the other elected members.

A Museums Section Chairman, elected by the Museums Section.
The offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be combined if desired. The duties of the Secretary are covered by Section 18; of the Treasurer, by Section 19; of the Editor, by Section 20; of the Museums Section Chairman, by Section 21."

7. This section shall be amended to read:
"Sub-committees, with Chairmen selected from its membership, may be appointed by the Executive Committee, to which body such sub-committees shall be responsible."

8. This section shall be amended to read:
"The Executive Committee
(a) may adopt by-laws for its government and guidance not inconsistent with the constitution;
(b) shall make an annual report of its acts and doings to the Society and of the condition of the Society and its work, accompanied by such suggestions as may seem appropriate; and
(c) shall perform such additional duties as may from time to time be imposed upon it by the Society."

9. The second paragraph shall be revised to read:
"Every member or delegate of a corporate member or affiliated society present at a general meeting whose fee is not in arrears shall be entitled to one vote. Corporate members and affiliated societies may be represented by not more than one voting delegate whose name is to be given to the Secretary before the meeting."

10. The words "the Council, or" shall be deleted from the first and fourth lines, and the word "respectively" from the fourth line.

12. The phrase "For a meeting of the Council . . . 10" shall be deleted.

13. The phrase "Honorary Vice-Presidents" shall be deleted and the words "an Editor" inserted before "a Treasurer".

14. This section shall be amended to read:
"The Honorary President and Honorary Vice-Presidents shall be appointed by the annual meeting on the recommendation of the Executive Committee."

15. This section shall be deleted.

16. This section shall be renumbered 15 and amended to read:
"The elected members of the Executive Committee shall be chosen each year at the annual meeting of the Society. Previous to the annual meeting the

Executive Committee shall appoint three members of a nominating committee to canvass possible candidates and three others shall be named by the annual meeting at its first business session. This completed nominating committee shall then elect its own chairman and determine a list of nominations for elected officers of the Society and for elected members of the Executive Committee for the consideration of the Society not later than the forenoon session of the closing day at the annual meeting.

The appointment of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Editor are provided for in Section 6, above."

17. This section shall be renumbered 16.

18. This section shall be renumbered 17.

19. This section shall be renumbered 18 and revised to read:
"The duties of the Secretary shall be to keep a record of the proceedings of the Society and the Executive Committee; to keep safely and systematically all papers, records and documents belonging to the Society or in anywise pertaining to the business thereof, except such as may be committed to the care of other officers; to conduct the correspondence of the Society; to act as the superintendent of its permanent offices, and other property committed to his care; to record the accessions of material; to catalogue and arrange the same; and, generally, to act under the direction of the Executive Committee."

20. This section shall be renumbered 19.

21. This section shall be renumbered 20.

22. This section shall be renumbered 21 and the first three paragraphs amended as follows:
"MEMBERSHIP: The Museums Section shall be composed of members of the Society who have paid a subscription fee to the Newsletter, together with one representative from the following: a museum holding a corporate membership in the Society, an affiliated society which operates a museum, a museum operated by the governments of Ontario or Canada.
VOTING: Each member of the Museums Section present at a general meeting of the Section is entitled to one vote. Member museums, affiliated societies operating museums, and government museums may be represented by not more than one voting delegate each, whose name is to be given to the secretary of the Museums Section before the meeting. Only members and appointed delegates may introduce resolutions, or vote.
PURPOSE: The purpose of the Museums Section shall be to ascertain the needs and desires of the museums of the Province, to establish standards, to exchange ideas, to disseminate information, and unite all in a fellowship of museum workers. It is understood that actions of the Museums Section are to be consistent with the objects of the Society, and shall in no way commit the Society to any expenditure, nor action with others, without the approval of the Executive Committee of the Society."

23. This section shall be renumbered 22.

24. This section shall be renumbered 23.

25. This section shall be renumbered 24.

26. This section shall be renumbered 25.

27. This section shall be renumbered 26.

28. This section shall be renumbered 27.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1959

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

GENERAL ACCOUNT

REVENUE

Membership Fees:			
Annual		$1,713.92	
Libraries and societies		584.75	
		2,298.67	
Decrease in items paid in advance		32.36	2,311.03
Ontario Government grant		$3,500.00	
Less Allocation to Museum Section		500.00	
			$3,000.00
Interest on bonds and bank deposits			391.21
Donations			2.00
Annual meeting:			
Income		$ 878.00	
Less Expenditure		802.35	
			75.65
Net income on book sales:			
Sale of books		$ 407.96	
Cost of sales:			
Inventory at beginning of year	$ 708.00		
Purchase of "Kingston before 1812"	312.00		
	$1,020.00		
Inventory at end of year	754.68	265.32	142.64
			$5,942.53

EXPENDITURE

ONTARIO HISTORY:		
Editor's honorarium	$ 500.00	
Engraving	170.08	
Indexing	200.00	
Postage	104.86	
Printing	2,864.80	
Sundry	34.53	
		$3,874.27
Auditor's fee		50.00
Exchange		21.87
Express		3.55
Fees and subscriptions		20.15
Fidelity bond		24.00
Gratuities		10.00
Office supplies		16.95
Postage		81.19
Printing and stationery		183.42
Safety deposit box		5.00
Secretary's honorarium		600.00
Sundry		29.06
Travel		139.00
		$5,058.46
Surplus for year		884.07
		$5,942.53

GENERAL ACCOUNT BALANCE SHEET

as at December 31, 1959

Assets

Cash		$4,078.63	
Bonds, at par value		1,350.00	
Inventory of publications:			
The Valley of the Trent	$399.00		
Royal Fort Frontenac	180.96		
Kingston before 1812	174.72	754.68	
			$6,183.31

Liabilities

Due to other funds:			
General Cruickshank fund	$ 461.85		
Life Membership Fund	50.00		
Bequest Fund	33.22		
Suspended Societies Account	3.00		
		$ 548.07	
Reserve for fees paid in advance		403.14	
Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1959	$4,348.03		
Surplus for year	884.07	5,232.10	
			$6,183.31

GENERAL CRUICKSHANK PUBLICATION FUND BALANCE SHEET

as at December 31, 1959

Assets

Cash		$1,143.33	
Bonds, at par value		5,400.00	
Due from General Account		461.85	
			$7,005.18

Liabilities

Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1959		$6,529.70	
Sale of books	$233.88		
Bank Interest and Bond Revenue	241.60	475.48	
			$7,005.18

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND BALANCE SHEET

as at December 31, 1959

Assets

Bonds, at par value	$ 350.00	
Due from General Account	50.00	
		$ 400.00

Liabilities

Surplus:		
Balance, January 1, 1959	$ 350.00	
New Member in 1959	50.00	
		$ 400.00

RESERVE ACCOUNT BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1959

Assets	
Bonds, at par value	$5,000.00
Liabilities	
Surplus	$5,000.00

BEQUEST FUND BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1959

Assets		
Bonds, at par value	$ 200.00	
Due from General Account	33.22	
		$ 233.22
Liabilities		
Surplus:		
Balance, January 1, 1959	$ 223.72	
Bond Rvenue	9.50	
		$ 233.22

SUSPENDED SOCIETIES ACCOUNT BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1959

Assets			
Cash		$ 124.26	
Bonds, at par value		100.00	
Due from General Account		3.00	
			$ 227.26
Liabilities			
Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1959		$ 242.35	
Less:			
Interest adjustment 1958	$ .95		
Reimbursement to Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society	21.00		
	$ 21.95		
Bank Interest and Bond Revenue	6.86	15.09	
			$ 227.26

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have examined the Balance Sheet of the Ontario Historical Society as at December 31, 1959 and the Statement of Revenue and Expenditure of the General Account for the year ended on that date.

In our opinion the accompanying Balance Sheet and Statement of Revenue and Expenditure of the General Account present fairly the financial position of the Society as at December 31, 1959 and the results of its operation for the year ended on that date, in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Toronto, Canada, THORNE, MULHOLLAND, HOWSON & McPHERSON,
May 17, 1960. Chartered Accountants.

THE LOCAL SOCIETIES REPORT ON THEIR ACTIVITIES IN 1959

In January of this year our secretary, Miss Edna Ash, circulated a questionnaire to the secretaries of affiliated societies for the purpose of obtaining information regarding their operations during 1959. It was hoped that the replies would furnish an up to date picture of their current activities, and that the reports might suggest worthwhile projects that other societies could emulate. The information on speakers and publications could indicate persons on whom other societies might call, and be a means of making known specialized interests to persons engaged in similar studies. The reporting of problems and difficulties encountered by one society might be a means of attracting support and assistance from individuals and groups and of strengthening co-operation among societies. Finally, the questionnaires and the replies offer a means by which each society might evaluate its own progress.

What follows is the summaries of reports received to date. It is hoped that reports from the remaining affiliated societies will be forthcoming. These will be published in *Ontario History* when they have been received.

BRUCE COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM. Meetings during 1959 included one at Wiarton on April 8 which was addressed by Dr. Frank Morton of Southampton on the subject "Our Museum", plus five committee meetings at Southampton. The chairman is Mrs. Archie Given, R.R. 4, Wiarton, and Mrs. T. J. Cornish, Box 446, Chesley, is secretary.

BRUCE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. This society was reorganized in 1957 and enjoyed a successful season in 1957-58. A falling off in interest occurred in 1958-59 and the membership declined to 30. A November 4 meeting, held in Port Elgin Library, was addressed by Mr. Ken Pettis, local editor, on "The Importance of Historical Associations to a Community" and Mrs. G. Downey spoke on Mr. and Mrs. William Turner, early district tavernkeepers. The society is hoping to interest some organization in reprinting Norman Robertson's "History of Bruce County". Owing to the size of the county and the unpredictable winter weather, difficulty was experienced in contacting members and arranging wintertime meetings. Stuart E. Robertson, P.O. Box 96, Lucknow, is president, and Mrs. G. Downey, Tiverton, is secretary.

ESSEX COUNTY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The society held eight general business meetings during 1959, assisted in the operation of the Hiram Walker Historical Museum, and participated in the unveiling of plaques at Amherstburg (Christ Church, Colonel Matthew Elliott, and the Schooner Anne) and La Salle (Fighting Island). Membership was 25 at the end of 1959. President is Mr. George E. Marshall, 1554 Dougall Avenue, Windsor, and Secretary, Mr. Gordon F. Mann, 451 Park Street West, Windsor.

ETOBICOKE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. The society held seven public meetings during the year, their programmes including "The Brule Project", "Brule and French Canada" by M. Jules Beauroy, Consul General of France, "Aspects of Archaeology" by Frank Ridley, "Professor Delahaye of Upper Canada College and Clairville" by J. B. Orr, "Museums Workshops" by Mr. and Mrs. Paul Hughes, "Reference Facilities" by Mr. Donald Wick, and "Records of Early Ontario", by A. W. Murdock of the Ontario Archives. Robert A. Givens published weekly articles on the history of Etobicoke in the *Etobicoke Press*, and the possibility of preparing and publishing a "History of Etobicoke" is under consideration. The society is sponsoring the project of a Brule Monument and is preparing to open a museum at the James Gardens, 61 Edgehill Road, Islington, the society's headquarters. Members of the Junior Historical Society at Royal York Collegiate are encouraged to attend the meetings of the Association. The president of the 108-member society is Mr. Frank Longstaff, 70 Riverwood Parkway, Toronto 18, and Mr. E. W. Anderson, 14 Delroy Drive, Toronto 18, is secretary.

FORT ERIE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. At the nine public meetings, held at the Museum, members read papers on local history which were subsequently printed in the town paper. An open-house evening featured Mr. O. C. Vail of Tobermory, discussing his find of the supposed wreck of La Salle's Griffon. Social studies classes from Fort Erie schools were conducted through the museum, and the society assisted in the unveiling of a plaque to William Lyon Mackenzie. The membership is about 20. President is Mr. C. N. Glenny, 218 Phipps Street, Fort Erie, and Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. S. H. Raymond, 17 Queen Street, Fort Erie.

HEAD-OF-THE-LAKE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Meetings held in the Hamilton Public Library lecture room included addresses by Miss L. M. Shaw on "Notable Hamilton Families—the Stinsons and the Bakers" (afterwards published in *Western Ontario Historical Notes*), Dr. J. L. Carroll on "The Ontario St. Lawrence Development Commission", Mr. T. R. Woodhouse on "The Beginnings of Hamilton", Rev. T. M. Bailey on "History through Travel", Mr. Kingsley Brown on "Hamilton and the American Civil War", and Patrick Horsburgh on "Good Enough to Destroy", also a showing of "When the Moon is High", filmed in Hamilton by Dr. L. Meszaros. Tours were taken to Ancaster and district, and to the Royal Botanical Gardens. Publication of the second volume of "Wentworth Bygones" is held up for lack of funds. Rev. T. M. Bailey, 81 Cloverhill Road, Hamilton, is the president, and Mr. R. S. Charlton, 59 Amelia Street, Hamilton, is Corresponding Secretary. Membership totalled 81.

HIRAM WALKER HISTORICAL MUSEUM. The museum at the Francois Baby House, 254 Pitt Street West, Windsor, was first opened in May 1958, and during 1959 it gained favourable recognition from many specialists and attracted visits from a wide variety of organizations. Very important new materials were acquired, and so many new exhibits were installed that there was a virtually complete change of displays during the year. Progress was made in developing what it is hoped will become a significant collection of Canadian firearms. With the new civic auditorium just next door, the museum is certain to enjoy great success in years to come. The curator is R. Alan Douglas.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OTTAWA. Meetings at the Unitarian Church Hall were addressed by Mr. N. R. Ogilvie on "A City Grows", Major J. F. Leys on visits to historic sites in eastern United States, Mrs. H. Willis-O'Connor on fleeting impressions of Israel and Jordan, and Senator Cairine Wilson on "Early Schools in Upper Canada". The society's annual outing at Manotick as guests of Hon. John Bracken heard Mr. R. H. Leggett speak on "The Rideau Canal". Dr. B. R. MacKay published articles in the monthly issues of *What's On in Ottawa* and in the *Ottawa Journal.* A group of members held meetings during the winter to conduct historical research in connection with the society's Transactions. During the summer months the Bytown Museum was kept open to the public. President of the 250-member society is Mrs. W. F. C. Anderson, 27 Java Street, Ottawa, and Miss Mabel Stewart, 465 Tweedsmuir Avenue, Ottawa, is Corresponding Secretary.

HURONIA HISTORIC SITES AND TOURIST ASSOCIATION. The Association held business meetings at Orillia and Barrie and the speaker at the annual meeting at Orillia was Guy Moore. Publications included tourist folders and a Huronia tourist guide map. J. Cowden Whitfield, Orillia, is president, and J. R. Chittick, 236 King Street, Midland, is secretary.

JORDAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM OF THE TWENTY. The Museum held two open meetings, the opening in the spring and the annual meeting in the autumn. During 1959 the sum of $4,500 was secured to purchase and restore a log cabin of 1814-15 which is to be opened to the public in May 1960. Other activities included junior and school programmes, and a museums summer school. President is Mr. Victor Scull, Jordan, and Secretary, Miss Barbara Coffman.

KENT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Meetings were held at the Kent Museum and included Mr. Art Newton speaking on "Geology of Kent County", Mr. A. B. Colerick on "Dress and Textiles, 1840-1850". Dr. Neil F. Morrison of Windsor showed historic slides of Essex and district, and accounts of the blockhouse built in 1794 were read from the Simcoe Papers. The society is attempting to raise the money to purchase a microfilm reader for the Chatham Public Library and is seeking out early newspapers to be filmed. The paid up membership is 23. President, Mr. J. F. Fletcher, 98 Park Street, Chatham, and Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. J. R. Huff, R.R.5, Chatham.

LINCOLN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Four meetings were held at Knox Church Hall, Public Library, and Memorial School, St. Catharines, and these were addressed by Miss K. O'Loughlin, by Miss Ruth Home on "Choice and Care of Museum Material", and by Mrs. Gorman, who reported on the meeting of the Museums Section in Cornwall. The annual service commemorating Laura Secord's Walk was held at Decou House. President of the 43-member society is Mr. R. S. K. Welch, 12 King Street, St. Catharines, and the secretary is Miss Kathleen E. Duff, 52½ Thomas Street, St. Catharines.

ORILLIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The annual meeting, held in the Public Library on October 28, discussed the question of launching a local museum, towards which Dr. C. H. Hale has willed his home as a permanent quarters. The membership of 50 is headed by Mr. J. Austin Cook, 127 Shannon Street, Orillia, as president, and Miss Grace Crooks, of the Orillia Public Library, as secretary.

OSHAWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Two public meetings, held in St. Andrew's United Church chapel, were addressed by James Lovekin in "The Junior Historian Movement" and Professor J. M. S. Careless on "Why Ontario History?". This newly-formed 90-member society is devoting its main interest for the time being to developing a local museum. The Henry House has been acquired and renovated for the purpose, and some 75 small exhibits have been secured. Officers include Mrs. G. D. Conant, 1050 Simcoe Street South, Oshawa, president, and L. R. Barrand, 127 Sunset Drive, Oshawa, secretary-treasurer.

OXFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Three of the society's four meetings in 1959 were held at the City Hall, Woodstock, where the programmes included addresses by Dr. J. J. Talman on "The Importance of Local History" and Miss Louise Hill on "Communications in the World before the First Postage Stamp" and a discussion of ways and means of helping the society to achieve its aims. A fourth meeting, sponsored by the Women's Institutes of Embro and West Zorra and held at Embro Town Hall, heard Dr. D. M. Sutherland discuss "The Background of History in Oxford County". A junior historical society has been organized by Miss Hill. The society is closely associated with the Oxford County Museum. Paid up membership in 1959 was 31, and officers included Mr. Roy G. Hart, R.R.8, Woodstock, as president, and Mrs. W. R. Ward, 770 Dundas Street, Woodstock, as secretary-treasurer.

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY OF ONTARIO. The Society met in Kitchener, Markham and Vineland, and the annual meeting and banquet was held at Waterloo College with Dr. Russell Gilbert of Selingsgrove, Penna., as guest speaker. The society has 220 members. Dr. G. E. Reaman, 288 Albert Street, Waterloo, is president, and Lorne B. Weber, R.R.1, Waterloo, is secretary.

PETERBOROUGH CITY AND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Seven meetings were held during 1959, which were addressed by Dr. G. R. Langley on "Major Robert Rogers, 1731-1795", J. E. R. Munro on "The Life and Works of Katharine Wallis" and "Early History of Peterborough", Lloyd Hale on "Transatlantic Travel Prior to 1850" and Colonel Hugh Wallis of Montreal on "James Wallis, Founding Settler". The meetings also included a display of music boxes and hand-organs, a showing of a collection of coloured slides of district houses and historic sites (Miss Anne Heideman commentator), and society business and elections. From June 18 to June 20 the society played host to the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society, making all the necessary local arrangements, organizing the programme, and contributing four of the papers. The museum in the Public Library was maintained, the exhibits were cleaned, painted and catalogued, and several important accessions of material were made. Efforts were continued with a view to encouraging the establishment of a Civic Museum and Art Gallery. The collection of slides was added to, and the society's booklet on Peterborough is being revised prior to reprinting. Membership increased from 50 to 75 during the year. President is Dr. Ralph Honey, 466 Weller Street, Peterborough, and secretary is Mrs. R. G. Maniece, R.R.9, Peterborough.

STORMONT, DUNDAS AND GLENGARRY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. At this society's annual meeting in the Public Library, Cornwall, Mrs. Mabel Good spoke on "Smuggling on the Quebec-Vermont Border after the American Revolution". The society sponsors the United Counties Museum. Membership totalled 50 in 1959. J. C. Bredin, 320 York Street, Cornwall, is president, and Miss Ethel Dewar, Cornwall Public Library, 208 Second Street East, Cornwall, is secretary.

THUNDER BAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. During 1959 two meetings were held at the museum, one of which was addressed by Keith Denis on the subject of "The Old Port Arthur and Duluth Railway". The society also assisted with the unveiling of monuments to Simon J. Dawson in Port Arthur, and William McGillivray in Fort William. President is Mr. Bernard Black, 2000 Isabella Street, Fort William, and Secretary Mrs. Jessie Dale, 207 S. John Street, Fort William. Membership totalled 42.

VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Two public meetings and seven advisory council meetings were held during 1959, the annual meeting being at the Town Hall, Lindsay, and a dinner meeting at Queen Street United Church at which Rev. Father McCaffrey of Midland spoke on the Jesuit contribution in recording early Canadian history. The C.P.R. station was rented as a headquarters to house the museum which the society is organizing. Publicity for this endeavour was generously afforded by the local newspapers and radio station, and a booth was secured at the fair to display some of the materials already donated and to encourage the public to come forward with further contributions. The society is currently sponsoring an essay contest in the schools on the local history of Victoria County, and is offering prizes for the best entries. President is Mr. Dan McQuarrie, Oakwood Road, Lindsay, and Miss Berle Coulter, 66 Colborne Street West, Lindsay, is secretary.

WELLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The four meetings, held in the public library, were addressed by local speakers on local subjects. Accounts of the meetings, including the presentations, were subsequently printed in the local newspaper. The society is microfilming back issues of the *Welland Tribune* (1871-1889) and the *Welland Telegraph* (1877-1888), and plans to publish "A Short History of the Niagara Peninsula" which has been circulated in mimeographed form. There were 22 paid up members and 25 associate members in 1959. President is Mr. Gerald Nash, 60 Bald Street, Welland, and Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Susie E. Oille, 76 Aqueduct Street, Welland.

WELLINGTON COUNTY HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY. Nine meetings were held in 1959, five at Elora, two at Guelph, and the others at Drayton and Harriston. Membership was 278, and 1,167 junior members. President is Mrs. A. Lyons, Harriston, and Secretary, Mrs. Ella B. Warren, Box 379, Elora.

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TORONTO. Eight meetings were held during 1959, talks being given by Col. J. A. McGinnis on "Fort York", Mrs. Fred Findly on "Robert Burns", Miss Edith Firth on "Early Toronto", Mr. Thor Hansen on "The Relation of Culture to History", and Rev. C. E. Silcox on "A Study of Religious Liberties in Canada". The programme also included a garden party at Colborne Lodge and a Christmas luncheon. The society operates a museum at Colborne Lodge in High Park, Toronto, and was active during 1958 and 1959 in the struggle to preserve Fort York in its authentic location. There are 65 members. Mrs. Ross Glassford, 121 Macpherson Avenue, Toronto, is the president, and Mrs. H. K. Macknight, 50 Felbrigg Avenue, Toronto, the corresponding secretary.

YORK PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The society held nine public meetings during the year, seven at 30 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, and one each at the society's two museums, the Temple of Peace at Sharon, and the Scadding Cabin at the Canadian National Exhibition grounds, Toronto. At these the members were addressed by Professor J. M. S. Careless on "Canada in the Feverish Fifties", Mr. Raymond Card on "The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava", John Rempel on "Our Architectural Heritage", Mr. Fred Swayze on "The Fighting Lemoynes", Mr. Alan Helmsley on "Outdoor Museums in Ontario Provincial Parks", Mr. Charles Williamson on "Early American Pressed Glass", Mr. Gene Butt on "The Nativity in Art and Music". Besides helping maintain and operate the two museums, members of the society played a leading part in winning the "Second Battle of York" during 1958 and the early months of 1959. The society published the 1958 volume of The York Pioneer, while individual members contributed numerous articles to periodicals and newspapers and at least four had monographs published. The president was A. G. Clarry, 37 Elmsthorpe Avenue, Toronto, and the recording secretary Miss Marion C. Keffer, 3297 Yonge Street, Toronto. The membership totalled 564 individuals and organizations.

OBITUARIES. The reports gave the names of the following of their members who passed away during the year 1959: Mrs. T. Blair (Bruce County Historical Society); Mr. Thomas C. McCall and Dr. George F. Macdonald (Essex County Historical Society); Mr. E. B. Thompson, Mrs. G. D. Richmond and Mrs. C. A. Blandy (Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society); Mrs. Richard Garvin, Mrs. G. J. Desbarats, Mrs. Bruce Waugh, Mrs. Ernest H. Matthewman, Mrs. E. Seybold, Miss Laura Laventure and Mr. Eric Temple (Historical Society of Ottawa); Mrs. G. E. Eakins and Mrs. G. Greer (Thunder Bay Historical Society); Dr. Louis Blake Duff (Welland County Historical Society); Miss Kate Symons (Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto); Mrs. A. E. Baldwin, Dr. Ford Butler, George M. Clarke, John W. Falkner, W. G. Callow, Alfred A. Hooper, W. O. Jarrett, Thornton F. Livingstone, C. E. Lundy, Miss Belle MacCallum, A. E. Nourse, Robert C. Parsons, W. H. Swan, James Thomson, Miss S. J. Traviss, Mrs. Ethel Trewhella and Mr. Fred C. Walsh (York Pioneer and Historical Society); and Mrs. M. MacTaggart (Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, and York Pioneer and Historical Society).

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Fred Landon, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, is former Librarian and Professor of History at the University of Western Ontario and a past chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. A former president of the Ontario Historical Society, he retains an active interest in Ontario's history.

Mrs. Mary Garbutt taught school after graduating from the University of Toronto with a B.A. in Modern History. Now a resident of King City, she is currently progressing towards a Master's Degree in History at Toronto.

Mrs. Hazel C. Mathews of Oakville is best known for her very fine book, "Oakville and the Sixteen", published in 1953.

Thomas R. Lee is a student of Canadian art and a frequent contributor to Canadian journals. A former newspaperman in Toronto and Ingersoll, he now lives in, and is mayor of, Baie d'Urfé, Quebec.

NEW MEMBERS

We welcome the following who have been enrolled as new members in the Ontario Historical Society since the publication of the previous list in *Ontario History*, Volume 51, Number 2 (Spring 1959), page 138:

Life Member

Colonel A. S. Giles, Port Hope

Family Members

Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Clarkson, Lorne Park
Mr. and Mrs. F. Cunningham, Toronto

Individual Members

Mr. Ralph Adams, Toronto
Mr. Warren Armstrong, Toronto
Miss Marjorie Ball, Niagara-on-the-Lake
Mr. W. C. Barrie, Galt
Mr. George Belton, London
Miss Helen Bonnycastle, Peterborough
Mr. Harry Bosveld, Chatham
Mr. Douglas Boylan, Ottawa
Mr. Donald Grant Brown, Toronto
Mr. Jack Brown, Picton
Mr. John L. Brown, Toronto
Mr. Herb J. Cadwallader, Weston
Dr. C. R. Carscallen, Whitby
Mr. E. J. Chard, Stirling
Dr. Bruce Charles, Toronto
Mrs. J. Charlton, Pembroke
Mrs. John Chipman, Toronto
Mrs. K. H. J. Clarke, Pickering
Miss Joan Coupar, Mono Centre
Mr. Hamilton Craig, Toronto
Mr. Philip Creighton, Toronto
Mrs. Howard Disher, Brantford
Mr. Edwin C. Down, Toronto
Mrs. Margaret Gildner, Cooksville
Mr. James Gooding, Highland Creek
Miss Wilhelmina Gordon, Kingston
Mr. A. W. Gourlie, Toronto
Dr. John Webster Grant, Toronto
Mr. W. G. Grundon, Toronto
Miss Sandra Guillaume, Toronto
Mr. C. H. Hale, Orillia
Mrs. G. G. Henderson, Hamilton
Mrs. Arthur Hinds, Hespeler
Mrs. Carman Hyland, Napanee
Mr. J. Kenyon, Toronto
Mr. Roy M. Knapp, Waterdown
Mrs. Charles Kott, Stoney Creek
Mrs. C. E. Lane, Dundas
Mr. J. Law, Oakville
Mr. Michael Lawson, Sudbury
Mr. James Lowthian, Rexdale
Mr. Bruce MacDonald, Goderich
Hon. Mr. Justice F. G. MacKay, Toronto
Mr. R. McMahon, Kingston
Mrs. John McMurray, Toronto
Mr. D. McQuarrie, Lindsay
Miss Ruth Marshall, Toronto
Mrs. E. C. Martin, Hamilton
Mr. J. D. P. Martin, Kingston
Mr. John A. Miles, Montreal
Mrs. Oscar Mills, Oshawa
Miss Lena Monaghan, Ottawa
Mr. Earl Morrison, Napanee
Mrs. Jack O'Connor, Hastings, Michigan
Mrs. J. E. O'Farrell, Toronto
Mr. A. R. Payne, Orillia
Rev. F. A. Peake, Glanworth
Miss Margaret Prang, Vancouver
Mrs. H. A. Ricker, Hamilton
Mr. Percy Robertson, Toronto
Mr. Stuart Robertson, Lucknow
Mrs. Jesse Ruley, Niagara Falls
Mrs. Beryl H. Scott, Fort William
Mrs. Lillian M. Shaw, Hamilton
Mr. Harry Sinn, Independence, Missouri
Mrs. V. R. Stammers, Don Mills
Miss Mabel M. Stewart, Ottawa
Mrs. Gilbert Storey, Toronto
Mrs. Roy Summers, RR1, Fonthill
Mrs. Andrew Taylor, Galt
Mr. Brian Tennyson, Toronto
Mr. Wesley Turner, Toronto
Mr. Walter Tyson, Guelph
Mr. R. C. Vogan, Toronto
Mr. Raymond Whaley, Don Mills
Mrs. Gladys Whitney, Scarborough
Mrs. Betty Williamson, Brampton
Mrs. H. B. Wressell, Chatham
Mrs. Florence Young, Port Colborne
Mr. J. C. Young, Ottawa

Corporate Members

Grenville County Historical Society, Prescott
Sombra Historical Society, Sombra
Public Library, Orillia
Public Library, Scarborough
Editorial Department, University of Toronto Press
Kenwood Campus Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Rutherford Library, University of Alberta, Edmonton
Southern Illinois University Library, Carbondale, Illinois
R. H. King Collegiate Institute, Toronto
National Film Board Library, Montreal

THE PROGRAMME OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The arrangements for the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Preston, Ontario, on June 23, 24 and 25, 1960 given below are complete apart from a few details. Letters that are to be mailed to the membership will present the definitive arrangements.

Preston, a famous spa for over a century, is readily accessible by bus and by plane. The best rail connection is through Galt by C.P.R. from Toronto and Windsor. Headquarters for the meetings and for the annual dinner is the Kress Mineral Springs Hotel. Its facilities include dining room, coffee shop, gift shop, parking lot and garage, and it is anticipated that many of the members will find it convenient to stay at the Kress. There are also four motels close by.

The Registration Fee is $2.00 per person and the price of the banquet will be $3.50, but the prices of the Friday luncheon and of the bus tours have still not been settled. Members may register in advance by writing to Dr. Gordon V. Hilborn, 648 Queen Street, Preston, and are urged to do so in order to help the Committee in estimating the attendance for the various functions. Cheques should be made payable to Dr. Hilborn and should include exchange.

The programme will consist of addresses by Miss Camilla Coumans on "Iron Ornaments of Waterloo County Cemeteries", Miss Jennie F. Cowan on "Family Bibles, a Treasury of Archival Materials", Miss Mary Farmer on "The Preston and Berlin Railway", and Rev. Duncan Fraser on "The Kingsborough Patent—Loyalist Antecedents in Colonial New York". The speaker at the annual dinner will be William H. Cranston of Midland, Chairman of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario. A historic sites plaque to John Erb, founder of Preston, will be unveiled, and there will be the usual business meetings.

Two bus tours have been arranged. The first, on Friday, will travel the Kitchener area, stopping at the Pioneer Memorial Tower, Berkley Square, "Woodside" (W. L. Mackenzie King's boyhood home), the Doon School of Fine Arts, and the village of Blair. The Saturday twilight tour will be through Preston and Galt to a reception at the country home of Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Barrie.

The Waterloo County Historical Society, with over 400 members, is rolling out the red carpet for the occasion.

MEETING PLACE OF THE FIRST LEGISLATURE OF UPPER CANADA

A good deal of ink has been expended in writing about the meeting place of the first Parliament of Upper Canada. In John Ross Robertson's *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* the writer states: "There has always been some doubt as to the building and the place where the first Legislature met. Some assert that the meeting was held in a tent pitched on the common above Fort George. This ground was marked by an old oak tree known as the 'Parliament Oak'. . . . Another writer asserts that the Legislature met in Freemasons' Hall, Niagara. The records of the Upper Canada *Gazette*, however, dispose of all doubt, for in the issue of that paper of 18th April 1793, the words " 'Government House, Navy Hall' are used. . . ."

It seems clear enough from the above that the Legislature met in Navy Hall in the Spring and Summer of 1793. But this was *not* the first meeting of the legislature which met together for the first time 17 September 1792. Did it also meet in Navy Hall? We suggest that 'all doubt' has now been disposed of by a General Order in the Simcoe Papers, in the Ontario Archives (drawn to my attention by Mrs. C. D. Milani) which reads as follows:

G.O. Navy Hall Niagara Septr 16th 1792

Major Smith will give directions to Captn Glasgow of the R.A. to fire a Royal Salute when His Excellency Lieutenant Govr Simcoe goes to open the House of Assembly &c to morrow morning. A Subalterns Guard of the 5th Regt to mount to morrow morning at Freemasons Hall.

Major Smith &c. &c. &c.)
or)
Commandant at Niagara)

This appears to prove that the first Parliament met at the Freemasons' Hall, Newark, now Niagara.

—*George W. Spragge.*

VOLUMES X and XI NOW AVAILABLE!

In keeping with the policy of reissuing out-of-print volumes of the Ontario Historical Society's PAPERS AND RECORDS, a special printing of these volumes, published in 1913, has been made.

Volume X includes articles on Major-General Sir Isaac Brock; Military Movements in Eastern Ontario during the War of 1812; Defence of Essex during the War of 1812; the Economic Effect of the War of 1812 on Upper Canada, etc. 85 pages.

Volume XI consists of Place Names in Georgian Bay (Including the North Channel), by James White, F.R.G.S. 81 pages.

The price of each volume is $2.00. Orders should be sent to Miss Edna Ash, Secretary Treasurer, Ontario Historical Society, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

Your Opportunity to Secure These Valuable, Rare Volumes.

THE TRIALS OF JOHN MONTGOMERY*

By E. A. Lacey

John Montgomery is one of those essential though minor historical characters who appear to present few problems because so little really is known about them. To outward appearance Montgomery's place in history seems fixed and immutable. He was the proprietor of the famous tavern which the rebels of 1837 made as their base for the intended assault upon Toronto, and when that desperate enterprise failed his hotel was burned to the ground. He himself faced a spectacular trial for high treason which ended with his calling hell-fire down upon judge, jury and witnesses. Condemned to die on the scaffold, he escaped to the United States, eventually was amnestied, and returned to resume his profession on the site of his former inn. His career thus presents to the amused and distant eye of history a fairly ironic, even comic aspect. But closer study reveals much more than irony or comedy both in Montgomery the man and in his chequered career—rather it discloses the subtle play of conflicting responsibilities and loyalties, attractive and not unheroic traits of personality, and elements of a personal tragedy.

John Montgomery was born in 1783 at Gagetown, New Brunswick, and appears to have come to Upper Canada in June, 1800. He was followed in 1803 by his father Alexander, "late of Nova Scotia", and by the rest of the family. They settled at York where they helped clear the site of the old St. Lawrence Market and worked on the construction of the forts or blockhouses on Front Street and on Queen's Wharf. During this period the father "erected a tavern on Yonge Street, a short distance above King, and took up his abode there for several years". In the War of 1812 John Montgomery served "as a York volunteer at the battle of Queenston and took part in one or two other engagements on the Niagara frontier" and he was an eye-witness to the death of General Pike in the attack on York on April 27, 1813. After the peace the elder Montgomery purchased a tract of land some miles further north on Yonge Street beyond Hogg's Hollow, perhaps at Newtonbrook or Thornhill, and here he built an inn, The Sickle and The Sheaf. In 1828 John Montgomery was reported as keeping The Bird in Hand Tavern, a little north of Queen and Yonge Streets. Some time during the early thirties John Montgomery leased The Sickle and The Sheaf to John Finch and moved to a site on Yonge Street, four miles north of York near the present-day Eglinton Avenue,

---

* This article is a revised version of a longer paper entitled "John Montgomery: A Miscarriage of Justice" which the author prepared while employed in Department of Public Records and Archives in the summer of 1959. The editor regrets that considerations of space made it necessary to delete several interesting bypaths pursued by the original study. He gratefully acknowledges the aid of Mr. A. W. Murdoch of the Ontario Archives for checking the references and quotations and for several suggestions incorporated in the present version.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 3.

where he constructed the tavern known to history as Montgomery's. Though the descriptions of this inn vary there can be no question that it was a large building for the time—indeed its size was one of the reasons for its being chosen as the rebel headquarters.[1]

It is tempting to speculate that the decision to use Montgomery's Tavern was also in some way connected with the owner's long association with, and strong sympathies for, the cause of Reform. As early as 1824 he was a leading supporter of the movement, and, according to his daughter,[2] was so prominent in his partisanship that "While on parade on King Street, during the Buchanan and Dunn contest, a Reformer was shot by the side of John Montgomery. Many supposed it was intended for Montgomery himself". Again, the same source reports, "there was a bloody contest of the re-election of Mackenzie . . . Jarvis and others waylaid the Reformers at the old 'Gallows Hill' and John Montgomery was brought home almost dead". There were also moments of triumph. In January 1832, "A procession was formed to escort Mr. Mackenzie to the town. He was placed on the second story of an immense sleigh, belonging to Mr. Montgomery, which was drawn by four horses and carried between twenty and thirty men and two or three Scotch musicians . . .".[3] A man of considerable means (for a Reformer), it was Montgomery who was largely instrumental in sending Mackenzie to England in 1832, and he was prominent among the Reformers who founded the "Bank of the People" in opposition to the alliance between the Family Compact and the banks. According to a petition of 1861, Montgomery prior to 1837 "was a large landed proprietor, in comfortable circumstances, then filling the offices of a commissioner for the roads in York County . . . , a director . . . of one of the Banks in Toronto . . . also a Director of the Mutual Insurance Company here."[4]

As late as July 31, 1837, Montgomery was one of the signers, at Doel's Brewery, of a Declaration of the Reformers, and an appointed member of a Committee of Vigilance.[5] However, subsequently he appears to have quarrelled with Mackenzie and with his maturing plans for revolution. According to his daughter, "John Montgomery was in sympathy [with an eventual rebellion] till the meeting at John Doel's brewery [in November], when he left them on account of changes of base, time, etc., when the general massing of Reformers should take place. After that he was not let into the secrets of the leaders."[6] Dent sustains this contention:

---

[1] For details on Montgomery's early life and business enterprises the reader is referred to the obituary article in *The Globe*, Toronto, November 3, 1879, and the paper by his daughter, Mrs. O. B. Sheppard, entitled "Some Incidents in the Life of John Montgomery during the Rebellion of 1837-8" in York Pioneer and Historical Society, *Annual Report*, 1927; also to Edwin C. Guillet's *Pioneer Inns and Taverns*. Vol. I (Toronto, 1954).

[2] Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 12.

[3] John Ross Robertson, *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto* (1908), V, 10, citing the *Guardian* for January 4, 1832.

[4] The Petition of 1861 is found in The Mackenzie-Lindsay Papers, Clippings, No. 305, in the Ontario Archives. For Montgomery's prosperity see also J. C. Dent, *The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion* (Toronto, 1885), II, 43.

[5] Dent, *op. cit.*, I, 367.

> . . . he had for years taken a conspicuous part in the local elections, and had all along been a vehement supporter of Mackenzie. Two or three months before the outbreak he had seen fit to take exception to some of Mackenzie's methods, which he criticized in tolerably plain language. This led to his being excluded from the most secret of the Radical councils ever since, though he continued to do his utmost for the advancement of the general Radical policy. As a consequence of his exclusion from the inner mysteries, he was not in the secrets of the conspirators . . . He received his first intimation on the night of Sunday, the third [of December], when Lount's messengers arrived with a request that he would act as commissary to the rebels. The request took him completely by surprise . . .[7]

On the eve of the revolt, then, John Montgomery was a strong sympathizer with the aspirations of the Reform cause but completely uninformed about the plans of the rebel leaders. As Mackenzie wrote, "He was as ignorant of the intentions of the Reformers to take possession of his premises on the 4th Dec., as the babe unborn."[8]

A further consideration in evaluating Montgomery's role in the Rebellion of 1837 is his ambiguous position in relation to the inn. In July 1837 he leased his tavern to a certain John Linfoot (or Lingfoot, or Lainfoot), about whom little is known. Linfoot was to rent the tavern, including furniture valued at £341, for a period of two years at £150 per annum. His lease was to begin on January 1, 1838, but Linfoot was allowed to take possession of the premises December 1, 1837. And on that day he moved in, accompanied by his English ostler, Gymer (or Guymer), a timid man, ill at ease and querulous in his new surroundings. However Montgomery, who was completing a new country home about a quarter of a mile away, stayed on for two or three weeks removing his furniture, and occupied two rooms at the inn. The whole arrangement is most unprecise and raises all sorts of questions. Why was Linfoot taking possession early? By his contract or by a last-minute arrangement? Who was really in possession of the inn during the uprising? Who was legally responsible for the property and for feeding and housing the guests?

Such was the situation on the night of Sunday, December 3rd, when "Davis McCarty and Col. Gorham, of Newmarket, were sent by the leaders to make arrangements with John Montgomery for supplies . . . . Montgomery discountenanced the thing as worse than madness. He advised them to return home, and would have nothing to do with the affair."[9] The two emissaries arrived late at night at Gibson's, about a quarter of a mile above Montgomery's, bearing their unfavourable tidings. Mackenzie was staying there, and "This news caused a loud ebullition of temper from Mackenzie, who declared his intention of coercing Montgomery into compliance."[10] In spite of the inn-keeper's protestations rebel volunteers began arriving at his tavern that very night. The first comers were the members of a small detachment from Lloydtown, and by morning 150 men were at the inn. Mackenzie himself arrived on Monday morning and had no sooner made his appearance "than he poured out the vials of his wrath upon Montgomery's head . . . . He reproached him for having deserted the cause in refusing to act as commissary, and with being much more desirous of advancing his own interests than those of his party."[11]

---

[6] Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 12-13.

[7] Dent, *op. cit.*, II, 43-44.

[8] In *The Caroline Almanac and American Freeman's Chronicle for 1840* (Rochester, New York, 1840), 37.

[9] Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 13.

II

An examination of Montgomery's conduct during the crucial days that followed—days in which the rebels made their unsuccessful advance down Yonge Street and in turn were decisively routed just south of the inn—is vital to an appreciation of the justice of his subsequent trial and his claims for restitution. Unfortunately, it is only from the tangled forest of the evidence presented at that trial, confused and often contradictory, that one can seek the relevant facts of the case.[12]

Take, for example, the question of the relationship between Montgomery and Mackenzie, which enters so vitally into any assessment of Montgomery's complicity in the uprising. At the trial it was the loyalist prisoners, held captive in an upper room of the tavern and able to view the situation only through a window, who took the lead in alleging friendly relations between the two men. Thus G. D. Reed: "The principal persons in command seemed to be Mackenzie, Fletcher, Lount, Gibson and Lloyd. Saw prisoner [i.e. Montgomery] frequently in conversation with some of them." "Witness saw prisoner conversing with Gibson and Mackenzie on Wednesday, and with Gibson on Thursday morning for about 15 minutes . . . ". William Clark, who "Did not hear Mackenzie use any harsh language to prisoner" proceeded to nullify this statement by adding that he "saw them through the window conversing together, but could not hear what was said". Linfoot, the lessee, who like Montgomery was left free to move about the inn during the rebel occupation, testified that he "Did not hear Mackenzie express himself harshly to prisoner and never told any person so", though in conversation with two of the defence lawyers, Baldwin and Hitchings, he apparently had reported having heard Montgomery being threatened by Mackenzie. Amelia Gray, a housemaid in the Montgomery family, stated that on Tuesday afternoon she heard

---

[10] Dent, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 44.

[12] The report of the trial followed is that published in *The Patriot and Farmers Monitor* of April 13, 1838 (Volume IX, Number 30), The Canadian Library Association Newspaper Microfilming Project, Reel 4. *The Patriot*, in turn, acknowledged (page 3), "For the foregoing account of the Trial of Montgomery, we are indebted to the Christian Guardian, for which journal it was reported by Mr. Evans, its respectable and talented Editor."

Mackenzie threaten her employer and say, "if he did not assist him, it would be worse for him." She "heard these threats so often that she did not particularly mark his words." Luther Elton, a rebel quartered at the tavern, heard Mackenzie abuse Montgomery on Tuesday for not joining the rising and say, swearing at him, "he could find enough that would". The most alarming of the accounts is that of Rebecca Marsh, Montgomery's niece. According to her testimony, on Monday night "Mackenzie came to the door of [Montgomery's] room and knocked; prisoner asked who was there, and was answered 'A friend'. Mackenzie then entered the room and used some abusive language to prisoner; said 'such a man ought to be shot', or words to that effect; ordered [Montgomery] out of room, and he went."

While all this evidence appears contradictory, it does seem to follow a pattern—an irascible Mackenzie and a calm Montgomery going quietly about his own affairs, apparently free of any actual physical restraints but under considerable duress and intimidation. Hugh Stewart (or Stuart), another of the prisoners held at the inn, remarked that Montgomery "did not appear to be under any constraint, and might have got away, especially that day [Tuesday]." Linfoot, whose own position was akin to Montgomery's, conceded under cross-examination that "Witness was under restraint to supply the rebels and the prisoner might have been so likewise.", and that "[Montgomery] might have run away, and so might witness, on Tuesday, but not after." Charles Doane, a rebel, was quite positive on this point: "Witness cannot say that prisoner could have made his escape from the place; there were guards placed along the road through which he would have to pass." "Considers that after Col. Moody was shot, the prisoner had but small encouragement to attempt to make his escape". "Montgomery was not made prisoner, nor did he join the rebels." W. D. Edmonson added, significantly, "Montgomery was not a prisoner at any time . . . [he] might have been taken had he attempted to escape through the guards." "Neither Linfoot nor his brother-in-law, nor the hired men at Montgomery's were put among the prisoners." The weight of testimony would suggest that Montgomery could not have made a safe escape from the inn. Besides, it should not be forgotten, Montgomery had a potent reason for remaining—he had a considerable and valuable property to protect. His refusal to flee should not by itself be taken as proof of his complicity in the uprising. As Baldwin observed, " . . . while a fear of the loss of property would not justify a man in joining and marching with the rebels,—but only fear of death—yet a man may remain to take care of his property, if he takes no willing part with the traitors."

Montgomery's guilt or innocence must rest, not upon his presence at the inn, but upon his action during the days that preceded the routing of the rebels on Thursday, December 7th. The witnesses were agreed that his principal activity for much of the time consisted of moving furniture from the inn to his new house. Linfoot, for example, testified that Montgomery "moved part of his things to his new house Tuesday and Wednesday", and again, "was chiefly employed in removing his furniture,", "Prisoner finished removing his furniture on Wednesday." Amelia Gray, who came down from the new house for the express purpose of helping with the moving, reported that on Tuesday morning Montgomery "came into the room where his things were and commenced moving them." Witness was engaged with prisoner at the tavern on Wednesday removing furniture. Witness remained in tavern that night . . ." "Some of his goods were still in the room. The family had gone to the new house on Tuesday."

This preoccupation with moving his furniture brought Montgomery into contact with teamsters and wagons, strengthening the charge that he was acting as the rebels' commissary. Thus Stewart reported that Montgomery "appeared frequently to be giving directions to the teamsters as they drove up", and this was adduced as proof of Montgomery's complicity in the rebellion. The defence, however, argued that "in giving directions to teamsters [he] was only engaged in removing and securing his own property". John Bishop, a servant of Montgomery's who during the course of the trial was rebuked by the court for his negative, unhelpful attitude, stated that he "Did not see [Montgomery] while the rebels were at the tavern give directions about any wagons but his own, which were engaged in removing his furniture". Doane also testified that he "did not . . . see [Montgomery] act as Commissary".

But there was more to the charge than Stewart's merely seeing Montgomery directing the activities of teamsters. Reed, another loyalist prisoner, said he saw Montgomery giving directions "when a waggon-load of beef arrived", and though from the upstairs room in which he was confined he could not hear what was being said he could hardly have mistaken furniture for beef. On Tuesday Montgomery appears to have overcome his surprise and lack of preparation for the sudden arrival of so many clients for the facilities of his inn and to have begun taking a hand in victualling the rebels and procuring supplies for them. Thus the testimony of Nightingale, the butcher to whom the rebels sent for meat, is extremely important even though he himself never saw Montgomery during the entire course of the rebellion. On Tuesday, when the rebels came demanding meat, Nightingale sent up a load with a boy named Purdy (who also testified). Purdy took the meat to Linfoot who disclaimed any knowledge of it and sent him to Montgomery who signed a statement for the meat, saying they would settle the account later, and then asked whether Nightingale had any more meat. On Tuesday afternoon Montgomery sent his boy, Watson, to Nightingale's for more meat, and Purdy returned with a side of beef and dealt again with Montgomery. The process was repeated once again that same afternoon. Then the rebels began sending animals to be slaughtered, and on Thursday Purdy was delivering a carcass to the inn when the victorious loyalist force reached the tavern. Further testimony in the same vein was forthcoming from Gymer, to the effect that on Tuesday Montgomery personally ordered his men to Snider's to get oats, and to Hogg's Hollow for flour.

The witnesses for the defence cast doubt upon, or categorically denied, much of this testimony. John Bishop claimed he knew nothing about any oxen sent to Nightingale. Thorpe, another servant of Montgomery's, said he was unaware of any cattle being sent for or slaughtered, and that he had not gone away on Thursday with the horses to Ketchum's. He denied Gymer's testimony that Montgomery had sent to Snider's for oats, though Gymer, recalled to the stand, renewed his assertion that Montgomery had ordered Thorpe to get oats for the horses of the rebels. W. D. Edmonson stated "[Montgomery] gave no orders for provisions; Mackenzie gave orders—he sent for flour. [Montgomery] attended to his own business". Luther Elton, a rebel, reported that "Mackenzie gave orders for provisions on Tuesday morning" and he "saw Linfoot being paid . . . to order bread, etc." When Elton asked Montgomery for a drink he was told that Montgomery had nothing to do with the house and that he should ask Linfoot. Harry Edmundson, whose own position is uncertain, also was refused drink by Montgomery and was referred to Linfoot. Doane, too, received the same answer when he asked for a bed, though he obtained supper by paying Linfoot for it. Linfoot himself testified that he treated with Mackenzie who "gave orders for provisions and promised payment. Witness's [Linfoot's] servants provided supper for about 100 men. Witness furnished liquors from the bar to the rebels, but not by Montgomery's orders." Where precisely can the line be drawn between the activities of Linfoot and of Montgomery during those eventful days? One might well wonder why it was that the one should be on trial for his life while the other seemingly went scot-free.

During the first days of the occupation Montgomery's manner was so far at variance with his reputation for generosity and humanity that it was commented upon by various of the witnesses. At first, probably while the inn-keeper was still smarting from Mackenzie's tongue-lashing, witnesses reported that he seemed "displeased", "apprehensive", that he declined to greet one witness, that he "seemed to avoid" another, that he "expressed his regret". According to Stewart, Montgomery carried his policy of indifference so far as to refuse succour to Lieutenant-Colonel Moodie, who was carried, wounded and dying, into the inn on Monday night (December 4), and he even denied Stewart pen and ink with which to write for a surgeon. Perhaps Montgomery's mood altered during the course of the week, from being one of indifference at the outset to one of assisting with securing supplies. Indeed, William Ketchum's testimony that Montgomery was sounding him out on Tuesday morning regarding the degree of assistance the rebels might get in the city can be construed as indicating the tavern-keeper's uncertain wavering in the balance, between trying to continue neutral in the contest or openly espousing the cause of his friends.[13]

Precisely how far did Montgomery's aid of the rebel cause go? There was general agreement among the witnesses that he himself did not drill, carried no rebel badge, and bore no arms. Stewart reported that Montgomery "was very active, and [he] thought him a leader", instancing seeing him turning a wagon with two women in it back toward the city. Stewart remarked: "could not hear prisoner, but he seemed to be vested with some authority among the rebels." Gymer's testimony indicates that Montgomery took charge of the rebels' horses: "Witness fed the horses when ordered. Did not see prisoner feed any of them but he ordered three men to help witness . . . and sent his own hostler, also." As for supplying arms, Ketchum testified that on Tuesday morning "a person came into the room and asked [Montgomery] if there were any guns or other arms there to be given out; [Montgomery] said there were none; witness saw one gun in the room; does not recollect whether prisoner said the arms had all been given out." Such evidence could mean either that Montgomery was a sort of quartermaster for the rebels, or the direct opposite—that he was hiding arms from them and attempting to diminish their enterprise. Far from inciting and leading the rebellion, indeed, Montgomery appears—at least according to the witnesses for the defence—to have acted as a calming force and to have exerted himself to discourage and dissuade the attack. He had, after all, disapproved of the revolt from the start, and he seemed at times to have had genuine regrets. He advised several rebels to return to their homes. Bishop testified hearing Montgomery deplore the burning of Dr. Horne's house on Tuesday afternoon, and that he "heard some of the rebels say that [Montgomery] said he wished they were at home . . . [He] heard that [Montgomery] sent some boy home again who had come from Albion." Crozier, Montgomery's servant, stated that his master "ordered one man, (a Scotsman) to go home, and he went". Harry Edmundson was asked by Montgomery on Monday night if he was going to join the rebels, and was advised to go home. Also on Monday night W. D. Edmonson "heard [Montgomery] express his regret to several at what had taken place, and advised them to return home. Some took his advice and went home." On Tuesday Hugh Wilson was also told by Montgomery that he thought the men should go home.

And so we come to the final stage of the uprising, the denouement of Thursday, December 7. Thus far Montgomery gives the appearance of a man caught between two fires. He himself seemed to be free to come and go as he wished. He took meals and slept at either the inn or his new house. Having finished moving his furniture on Wednesday he slept at the inn Wednesday night. On Thursday morning at Mackenzie's request Miss Gray served breakfast to Mackenzie, Van Egmond, Montgomery and one or two others. She used Montgomery's room "because there was no other convenient place". This was really a council of war, and she noted, "Mackenzie talked all the time". Then a body of the rebels, under Mathews, marched out to stave off a threatened attack, leaving Montgomery behind at the tavern. Later in the forenoon the government forces neared the inn and some 250 men, led by Mackenzie, Lount and Van Egmond, left to defend their positions. Montgomery continued to stay at the hotel, along with some hundreds more rebels who were unarmed because of the shortage of weapons. About half an hour before the final battle Clark saw Montgomery conversing with Mackenzie, Gibson, Lount and Fletcher, but "could not hear what was said".

---

[13] The same conclusion is asserted by Dent, *op. cit.,* II, 66:

> On Tuesday morning . . . the insurgents had the greatest difficulty in procuring supplies of food. Mackenzie took upon himself to superintend this department as well as every other, and was in constant hot water with somebody. . . . Finally, at the urgent entreaty of Gibson and Lount, Montgomery appears to have consented to act as commissary to the insurgents, and from that time forward there was no scarcity of provisions.

Perhaps the most damning single accusation of the lot was that brought forward by Gymer, Linfoot's ostler, who stated, and reiterated under cross-examination, "On Thursday, when intelligence arrived that the loyalists were coming up, [Montgomery] ran over to the driving house, where there were 30 or 40 of the rebels, and cried, "turn out, turn out, all you that have guns, and do your best for the Tories are coming." "[He] came alone to the driving house to give the alarm." Purdy, the butcher's boy, was there when the alarm was given. He heard the cry of "turn out" and saw Montgomery standing at his back door, looking toward Gallows Hill, but he could not state whether Montgomery had given the alarm. Crew, one of the prisoners, saw Montgomery "go toward the stable when the alarm was given", but could not hear what was said. Abraham Foot (Linfoot's brother-in-law) gave his opinion that Montgomery was on the platform in front of his house when the alarm was first given and did not know where he went afterward. The testimony of Abraham Wilson, a boy sent to settle an account of his father's with Montgomery that Thursday morning, is particularly important since he was with Montgomery in the tavern at the exact moment of the alarm. He heard "turn out" and "Did not hear [Montgomery] join in it. Did not see him go to the driving house; but saw him retreating towards his new house." This sounds like a positive refutation of Gymer's allegation. Unfortunately, Wilson was not with Montgomery during the entire space of time after the firing began. When the alarm was given Wilson went upstairs and did not return until eight or ten minutes later, when he could observe Montgomery retreating towards the woods. And it was physically possible for Montgomery during those few minutes to have found sufficient time to reach the shed, warn its inmates, and return to the inn. Still, the boy's testimony casts great doubt upon Gymer's accusation.

Montgomery's flight from the inn was to the new house, where Miss

Marsh saw him during the afternoon. However he did not sleep there but took refuge till amnesty was proclaimed, apparently at William Snider's. On Sunday, December 10, Colonel Thorne brought him to Toronto and incarcerated him in the prison where, later that winter, the aged Van Egmond froze to death. As for Montgomery's tavern, acting upon the advice of Judge Jones and against that of FitzGibbon, Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head celebrated Thursday's great victory by firing the hotel and its outbuildings as an example to future reformers, after having searched it for papers and relics of the rebel occupation and finding some of Mackenzie's lists of avowed rebels and sympathizers.[14]

III

Enough has been written to indicate the real difficulties in the way of reaching any true assessment of Montgomery's role in the events of December 2-7, 1837. His connection with the inn was highly ambiguous, and his relationship with Mackenzie and with the rebellion even more so. The testimony presented at the trial varied widely from witness to witness, almost certainly in accord with their particular biases and interests. The very trial charges seem to have been most unwisely laid. Montgomery was charged with "the levying of war against the King", rather than with "adhering to the King's enemies", a charge which would appear to have been far easier to prove and more in keeping with the facts.

Again, there is much room for criticizing the trial itself on the grounds of partiality and of bias. After all, what else could have been expected from a trial conducted at such a time, in such surroundings, and raising questions so laden with emotional overtones? The jury was composed, according to the *Patriot*, of twelve "respectable and intelligent gentlemen, all, if we mistake not, inhabitants of this city". But Mackenzie, on the other hand, in the *Caroline Almanac* calls them "a mock jury selected of the basest, most dependant tories not of the county, but picked up by the sheriff at Hagerman's order, through the city. They were men whom the banks could break down at a nod except perhaps Andrews the bellman . . . We will give them an unenviable notoriety to last their lives. Hagerman thought there were some names of jurors drawn who had a little humanity left, and he objected to every man of them."[15] Mackenzie's feelings may have been violent, but he was well acquainted with the Toronto of 1837, and there is probably a portion of truth in his charges. One might be inclined to suspect so in the light of the outcome. Despite the extraordinarily complex, confused and contradictory nature of the testimony and the large number of witnesses—twelve for the Crown, twenty for the defence—the jury, according to the *Patriot*, deliberated for only a few minutes before returning its verdict of "guilty".

---

[14] Sir Francis Bond Head, *The Emigrant* (Fifth edition, London, 1847), 181, 185. See also Dent, *op. cit.*, 129-30.

[15] *The Caroline Almanac*, 37.

The character of the Crown witnesses and the nature of their testimony may also be questioned. All but Ketchum, and Nightingale and his boy, appear to have been avowed Tories. Mackenzie refers slightingly to them: "David Bridgeford, a poor colonel . . . Archibald Cameron, son to a half-pay Colonel . . . were the informers and Queen's evidence. They did their best to have him convicted.[16] Of the dozen Crown witnesses, six were prisoners of the rebels and were kept for most of the time in an upstairs room, where they could see through a window and imagine and infer all sorts of conversations from what they saw outside, though they could hear nothing. None of them, so far as we know, spoke with Montgomery. Though Crown counsel calls them "gentlemen of undoubted veracity . . . [who] had an opportunity to observe their [the rebels'] movements, and sometimes to overhear their conversations", Baldwin rightly remarked of their testimony: "It would . . . be necessary that any particular treasonable act with which the prisoner was charged should be substantiated by the distinct testimony of at least *two* witnesses, independent of each other . . . Their vague conclusions could never be proof of his guilt." In fact this group of witnesses tended to mimic and repeat one another and to adduce their own numbers as proof of their statements. Thus Stewart called Montgomery a commissary and quartermaster. Reed, speaking after him, repeated and expanded the statement and brought in the proof of numbers: "Witness and his fellow-prisoners frequently conversed about Montgomery by that name [Commissary General]." Crew reiterated the charge, and added, "All the prisoners thought so".

Of the remaining witnesses for the Crown, Bridgeford's testimony should have been outlawed as being the product of a purely personal desire for revenge. He reported on a quarrel he had had with Montgomery some eight or ten days prior to the uprising in which Montgomery had accused him of being the head of an Orange party and told him the Tories would not have power for long. Doubt was thrown upon this testimony by a witness for the defence, Rochford, who was present during the quarrel but did not recall the latter part of the statement. Yet Bridgeford's testimony was given great value, as can be seen from Chief Justice Robinson's trial notes: "[Montgomery], by his conversation with Ketchum seemed to know their [the rebels'] plans, and to be assisting them, and from his remark to Bridgeford before."[17]

The motives of other of the Crown witnesses may also be questioned. Gymer, for example, is just as surely acting under motives of revenge or fear. He was Linfoot's servant, he had come to the inn just three or four days before, he had not been long in the country, and he found himself in the midst of a very Canadian revolt, with little respect for the dignity of a probably very-British ostler. So, Gymer noted, that "The rebels were very saucy to witness . . . Sometimes 20 or 30 of them coming in 5 minutes;—they kept witness stirring . . . Witness fed the horses when ordered. Did not see prisoner feed any of them." Perhaps this statement was the key to his testimony, and we should remember that Gymer's evidence was the most damning of all. Nightingale and Purdy might well have been angry with Montgomery because they were not paid for the meat they supplied and they might have been fearful of themselves being implicated. Generally, however, their testimony was fair. Ketchum, a reformer himself and a son of Jesse Ketchum, fled the country shortly afterwards. At the trial he was severely reprimanded by Chief Justice Robinson for not having divulged what he had learned at Montgomery's on Tuesday, December 5th. It is not unlikely that his testimony was given under some form of duress, as he seems to have been a fairly close friend of Montgomery's before, and even during, the revolt.

---

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] The John Beverley Robinson Papers, Ontario Archives. Notebook of Trial, typescript.

The longest and most disquieting role for the Crown, however, was that played at the trial by Linfoot. According to the testimony of Hutchings, one of the lawyers for the defence, he and Baldwin had called on Linfoot before the trial and received from him a definite statement that Mackenzie was at least annoyed with, indeed, had even threatened, Montgomery. Yet at the trial Linfoot completely denied this, and when recalled to the stand he pleaded loss of memory and said that though he remembered the lawyers' call he could not remember what they asked him. Since he was not under oath at the time, and since he feared they meant to entrap him, his answers might have differed slightly on that occasion, but his present testimony was the truth. The fact that early in 1838 he received £350 for his own small losses from the fire while Montgomery had to wait more than 35 years for an inadequate compensation, also points in this direction. There is also the suggestion that Linfoot was used by the Crown to spread slanders against Montgomery. Crozier told him, Linfoot claimed, that Montgomery had asked him to take up a rifle. But Crozier, testifying for the defence, denied ever having told Linfoot that Montgomery "asked him to take a rifle and go with them, but that he preferred to cut wood". Linfoot's behaviour at the trial has a very obvious explanation. As the one other free party in the inn during the rebel occupation, and a man who was performing practically the same functions as Montgomery himself, Linfoot would have to dissociate himself from Montgomery in every way in order to avoid being caught in the same net, as was Ketchum. He was probably aggrieved at Montgomery for allowing him to lease the inn at such a time. Under cross-examination he did break down and speak partial truth, but his testimony nevertheless was a mass of confusion. Since both Linfoot and his ostler apparently disappeared after 1838 there is little opportunity to discern their views when the pressures of the trial were not upon them. But perhaps their disappearance also is significant.

The testimonies of various of the Crown witnesses—and these the most suspect among them—was flatly contradicted by witnesses for the defence. Thus Thorpe denied Gymer's charges, though Gymer repeated them, in modified form, upon being recalled to the stand. Some of the Crown witnesses gave seemingly valueless testimony. Thus Severs stated: "Saw [Montgomery] on morning of the 4th December, in front of the Tavern; he looked earnestly towards the north as if he expected something," which he afterwards surmised to be the rebels. "Heard [Montgomery] ridicule persons for Tories . . . ". Certain defence witnesses were also suspicious—notably Amelia Gray, who seemed to have had no real reason for being present at the inn so much as she was; and Bishop, who denied everything. However the servants and rebels who testified in Montgomery's behalf gave a stronger impression of factuality, truth and documentation than did the Crown's witnesses. And in his petitions of later years Montgomery made a great issue of witnesses who, he claimed, could have proved his innocence of the charge but were unable to give evidence at the trial because they were either in gaol or out of the country.

The conduct of the Crown attorneys also is open to criticism. Boswell, in his summation for the defence, charged that the Crown, in opening the case, had not stated directly enough the important and the relevant facts in the eyes of the prosecution and had therefore left the defence largely in the dark: "He regretted this unusual course having been taken by the Crown officers; it was unfair." The behaviour of Hagerman, the Crown Attorney, was, as Mackenzie said, "vindictive enough". The cross-examination of defence witnesses was at times conducted with a diabolical skill. See, for example, the testimony of Hon. William Allen: "Knew Montgomery in war,— in militia and a good subject . . . (Cross-examined) . . . knew Matthew and Wideman in last war, too; they were also then loyal." In his final address Hagerman employed a highly-wrought and coloured rhetoric. Boswell having warned the jury of their natural prejudice against the prisoner because of his political affiliations, Hagerman proceeded to warn it of prejudice towards the prisoner, discounted all character witnesses and pleas based upon the prisoner's good reputation and station with "the more exalted the situation [of a traitor], the more flagitious his crime", and he followed this argument with a whole series of rhetorical, battering questions and syllogisms. Certainly the prosecution was most vindictive in its attempt to secure a conviction.

The trial judge, Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson, must also share this criticism. "The Jeffries of Upper Canada", Mackenzie termed him, alleging that "C. J. [Chief Justice] Robinson pleaded for a conviction he was sure of at the hands of his creatures . . . . In John Beverly Robinson's trials his creatures select such jurors as will ensure conviction."[18]

---

[18] *The Caroline Almanac,* 37.

Fortunately it is possible to examine Robinson's alleged bias against Montgomery from his own revealing notes and memoranda at the trial. These seem to indicate a tendency to weigh more heavily the testimony of witnesses against the prisoner than those for the defence. Thus on the basis of listening to the Crown witnesses, he observed:

> Clearly not requisite that prisoner should have borne arms. By assenting and conversing with, giving encouragement, information, advice, consulting with, . . . Compare his conduct with that of other . . . prisoners. Did not escape or try as appears from Crown evidence. No required force [against him] shown. Any act of voluntary assistance would suffice. All those who saw him with them seem to think he acted with and for them. He was apparently free. Spoke with the leaders often. Was active in getting provisions, in directing in the stables. When they went away on Tuesday he did not take the opportunity to go away. And on Thursday, he went and told them to turn out their arms.[19]

This, written before the defence witnesses even were heard, seems to reveal a highly partisan and credulous spirit. And when it came to the defence, the Chief Justice prepared, not summaries but refutations of their arguments:

> (1) As to his forebearing, that is not helping in everything as much as he could.
> (2) As to fear of his house being burnt. All who came here [to Toronto] leaving rebels behind them might have had the same fear.
> (3) As to his being *averse* to the rebellion . . . . A man may be averse to murder or arson, but if being present he does in any manner contribute to it, not being compelled, he must answer for it.
> (4) Why did not prisoner come forward before the Sunday after the attack [December 10th], having seen and known so much of the rebels and their proceedings.[20]

It is clear that Robinson simply did not consider with an open mind the circumstances urged by the defence, especially Boswell's argument, "Although the law makes it criminal for a man to join and march with traitors, to protect his property, yet the law clearly acknowledges his right to remain to take care of it."[21] The extremely conflicting nature of the evidence presented and the complete lack of agreement among the witnesses as to the facts would seem to warrant dismissing the case on grounds of insufficient evidence. Yet in such a time and before such a court the outcome could hardly have been other than it was. The jury convicted Montgomery with a recommendation for mercy, and on April 10, 1838 he was sentenced by Chief Justice Robinson to die on April 24. Montgomery's last statement in court was a condemnation of the trial, a claim that the witnesses were perjured, and a promise that "when you, sir, and the jury, and all those who take part in my sentence shall have died and perished in hell's flames, John Montgomery will yet be living on Yonge Street."[22]

---

[19] The John Beverley Robinson Papers, ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] *The Patriot and Farmers Monitor.*
[22] Dent, *op. cit.,* II, 251.

IV

John Montgomery did not die. Sir George Arthur, the new Lieutenant-Governor, commuted the sentence to perpetual imprisonment, and in August 1838 Montgomery succeeded in effecting his escape from Fort Henry to the safety of American soil. He settled in Rochester, New York, and ere long was operating a grocery store and boarding house on Main Street which became a centre for refugees, reformers and sympathizers. He gradually improved his fortunes a little, sent for his family, and cautiously resumed his political activities. The former friendship with Mackenzie was renewed, so much so that in 1839 they were co-signers of a circular letter to their fellow-exiles and American sympathizers, and in 1840 Mackenzie wrote of Montgomery with the highest approbation as one who afforded "a home for many a brother reformer in this flourishing city."[23] In general, the records show that the refugee grocer in Rochester was the same generous and kindly man that the wealthy inn-keeper on Yonge Street had been. It was he who, when Mackenzie was confined in prison for alleged infringement of the neutrality laws, arranged for his deliverance so that he might visit his dying mother.

In 1843, after an absence of five years, Montgomery returned to Toronto under the amnesty proclaimed on the occasion of the union of the Canadas in 1841, and soon he was once more "living on Yonge Street". Sir Richard Bonnycastle, passing by in 1845, noted that "[Montgomery's Tavern] is now rebuilt on a very extensive scale; and he is again there, having been permitted to return, and his property, which was confiscated, has been restored to his creditors."[24] Later, in 1849, he was operating an inn near the corner of Yonge and Albert Streets, Toronto, and still later he was the proprietor of a very well-established private hotel, built in 1856 on Bay Street just north of King Street, which, it was reported, was "presided over by Mr. John Montgomery, whose experience and well-known urbanity are a sufficient guarantee of the comfort of his guests."[25] Some time during the mid-1860's he seems to have kept, or rented, an inn at the corner of Church and Colborne Streets, but by 1871 he quit Toronto for the village of Headford, in Markham Township, of which he had been appointed postmaster ten years earlier. He appears to have moved to a son's home in Barrie and to have died there on October 21, 1879, almost a centenarian, survived by his third wife and by six children.

From the time of his return to Canada Montgomery sought compensation for his losses. His second petition, that of 1855, presented and in large part drawn up by Mackenzie, illustrates the nature of his plea—that the rebels had taken "forcible possession" of the hotel, that the court which had tried him was "of strong partisan feelings, hostile to him, and which were highly excited and influenced by the events, that had then recently occurred", that he had been judged "in the absence of numerous witnesses", that he had not aided or encouraged the rebels but had strongly remonstrated against their occupation of his premises, and that he had been reduced to poverty in his old age. There was even an appeal for fair play with a reminder of the compensation paid Lower Canadians under the Rebellion Losses Act: "Mr. Papineau was paid his arrears of salary . . . [while] your Petitioner's property was wantonly burned by those who should have protected it from injury."[26] The eighth petition, that of 1861, followed the same general lines, attacking the trial ("With such courts and such practises, and in such a time of party strife and excitement, small chance had any of the friends of progress to obtain British justice in Canada"), enlarging upon Montgomery's losses, and reminding the authorities that others quite as deeply implicated in the Rebellions had received far different treatment.[27] But this 1861 petition had coupled with it in the legislature an amendment, that "the Petition of C. N. M. Globensky, and others of the County of Two Mountains", be considered along with Montgomery's, and this unfortunate linking of the two cases perhaps contributed to the defeat of the plea. Certainly it proved impossible to secure compensation for Montgomery from the badly-divided, quarrelling legislature of the United Province of Canada.

---

[23] *The Caroline Almanac.*
[24] Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, *Canada and the Canadians* (London, 1849), I, 191.
[25] Guillet, *op. cit.*, 124.

The establishment of the Dominion of Canada and of the Province of Ontario in 1867 gave Montgomery's supporters the opportunity to urge their cause in a far more sympathetic atmosphere. The petition of 1872 stressed the hopes awakened by this change:

> Your Petitioner was informed by members of the Government, and, by Members of Parliament favourable to his claim, that the reason his case was not investigated by the Government, or referred to a Committee of Parliament, was the determination of the French Representatives of Lower Canada to make it the occasion for forcing the payment of numerous and very large claims by persons concerned in the Rebellious movements of 1837, in that Province, and whose property had been damaged or destroyed in the course of the military operations, which these movements had rendered necessary. That, the fear of opening a door to the discussion of claims, and questions, that might prove embarrassing, while the two provinces were united under one Government, was publicly stated as the reason for not entertaining the claims of your Petitioner . . .[28]

Perhaps, as Mrs. Sheppard suggests, the prominent Liberal leader, Oliver Mowat, had agreed to support a claim for something less than the full amount of Montgomery's losses. At any event, the petition of 1872 appealed for restitution merely for "Hay, Oats, Peas, Horse and Waggons, . . . seized and appropriated by officers and other persons, and accounted for by them to the military authorities", valued at $1,589. Once more the appeal failed, but that of 1873, coming after the electoral victory of the Liberals in Ontario and reinforced by petitions from the County of York and the village council of Yorkville, achieved its goal. On March 6, 1873 a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly was appointed to look into the Montgomery case and its report was rendered March 25th, 1873. Though the petition, like that of the previous year, was for the modest sum of $1,589, the committee decided that Montgomery's losses had exceeded $15,000 and it awarded him $3,000 compensation.[29] And so, however tardily and inadequately, Montgomery at last gained some redress.

---

[26] The Mackenzie-Lindsay Papers, Petition of 1855.

[27] Ibid., Petition of 1861.

[28] Ontario. Legislative Assembly. Records—Petitions. No. 275, Petition of 1872 Ontario Archives.

But to what extent had Montgomery really been wronged? As has been shown, he had long been associated with Mackenzie and the Reformers, some of whom were rebels in 1837; he was allowed considerable freedom of movement at the inn during the first week of December, 1837, which he spent partly on his own affairs, partly in helping the rebels obtain provisions; a "council of war" was held Thursday morning in his bedroom; and he may have warned rebels about the impending capture of the inn by the advancing loyalist force. It could equally be argued on his behalf that the inn had been occupied with neither his knowledge or his consent; that in all probability he could not have fled the district even if he had wished to do so; that he was within his rights remaining on the premises to look after his property; and that he took no part in the fighting and actively discouraged persons from joining the rebellion. The greatest 'crime' with which he could definitely be accused was his making himself useful to the rebels in the matter of securing supplies. But how is one to assess the measure of his culpability in this matter? What kind or amount of aid by an inn-keeper could be said to constitute treason? And if Montgomery, why not Linfoot? How far was Montgomery acting under external compulsion? Or could he have acted otherwise and still been consistent with his kindly, generous nature, his professional training, his many personal friendships with the rebels or his own self-respect? That a man could, or should, have been condemned to death for what Montgomery did appears inconceivable. The trial was not such a tissue of bias and prejudice as some have alleged—the very numbers of witnesses allowed to appear for the defence prove that it was not—but the proceedings were conducted in an atmosphere most unfavourable to the accused. Then the burning of Montgomery's hotel was a needless and deplorable act of vandalism all the more reprehensible in that it was the action of the province's Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head. Monetary compensation for the owner was delayed out of motives of political expediency and personal animosities long after the passions generated by the rebellion had abated, and when it came it could scarcely be termed adequate. Such were the blows that tested John Montgomery's metal for having tried to maintain both his dignity and his equilibrium during five eventful days in December, 1837, when history descended upon him and singled him out for the classic and entirely unenviable role of would-be netural. One can hardly help admiring the man, John Montgomery, inn-keeper and host, for the dignity, humanity, courage, good sense, and lack of self-pity with which he faced his many ordeals.

---

[29] Ontario. Legislative Assembly, *Journals and Appendix, 1873* (Volume VI), 244, 324, 327; Ontario. Legislative Assembly, *Public Accounts for 1874*, 69.

AN EDITORIAL NOTE

In view of my departure for a year's study in England the next numbers of *Ontario History* are to be edited by Professor John S. Moir, of the Department of History, Carleton University, Ottawa, whose work in the field includes a number of articles and a fine, scholarly book, and whose career embraces archival and editorial experience as well as university teaching. We are indeed fortunate to have secured a person of his ability and training, and I leave with the knowledge that the quarterly will be in excellent hands.

I take this opportunity to thank the many persons who eased the editor's burden by their disinterested labours and brightened his task with their friendship. Leafing through the pages of *Ontario History* I note with grateful thanks contributions by scholars from the staffs of half-a-dozen universities in Canada and the United States, by archivists and librarians, museum workers and archaeologists, and, especially, by individuals from everyday walks of life impelled by the desire to study their communal or ancestral heritage. I think, also, of the work of others whose contributions are equally necessary to the quarterly—those who suggested the names of possible sources and contributors, who read and appraised manuscripts, who submitted materials which we were unfortunately unable to publish, who furnished comments, advice and encouragement, the officers of the Ontario Historical Society who were invariably ready with support and assistance, and the staff of the *Port Credit Weekly*, who always toiled patiently and arduously—and sometimes also frantically—so that the magazine would appear in good time.

In extending thanks to those many persons whose help has meant so much in the past I draw renewed confidence that the same kindness, courtesy and consideration will be forthcoming during the coming months to Dr. Moir.

—*Morris Zaslow*

JOHN STRACHAN AND EARLY UPPER CANADA

1799 - 1814

By Miss Alison Smith*

On the very last day of 1799, a young school teacher from Scotland by the name of John Strachan arrived in Kingston, Upper Canada. Anyone who met him then would have described him as talented. Only his most intimate friends in Scotland knew that he was also ambitious. It is doubtful that anyone, however, could have foretold the illustrious career that lay before John Strachan. As the founder of schools and universities and as the first Anglican Bishop of Toronto, the Scottish school master was to carve for himself a place in the foremost ranks of Canadian educators and churchmen. In the realm of politics, it could be said that if the much maligned group of Upper Canadian Tories known as the Family Compact had a ringleader, that ringleader was without a doubt John Strachan.[1]

It was not until after the War of 1812 that Strachan emerged as an influential figure in Upper Canadian politics and it was even later that he became the centre of bitter controversy arising out of his efforts to maintain the privileged position of the Church of England through exclusive Anglican control of the provincial university and of the clergy reserves. Yet the years between 1799 and 1812 are none the less important, because these were the formative years for Strachan. Living in the relative seclusion of Kingston and Cornwall, the young Scot was able to observe the currents of Upper Canadian affairs and contemplate the role which he could play in them. While as late as 1812 Strachan wrote that he would "not let slip an opportunity should it ever offer of procuring a living in England",[2] he was nevertheless by this time well on his way to success in Upper Canada and on the verge of making the important move to York, the colony's capital.

Strachan wrote many letters before and during the War of 1812, particularly to his old professor and major confidant in Scotland, Dr. Brown, who held the chair in Natural Philosophy at St. Andrew's Univer-

---

* This paper was prepared while the author was a student in the seminar course The History of Old Ontario to 1867, offered by Professor Careless in the Department of History, University of Toronto. It was read before the Ontario Historical Society meeting in Preston, June 25, 1960, by Professor Careless in the absence of the author.

[1] R. E. Saunders, "What Was the Family Compact?" *Ontario History,* XLIX (4), Autumn 1957, 167.

[2] John Strachan, Cornwall, to Dr. Brown, St. Andrews, Scotland, May 24, 1812, in the *Strachan Papers,* 1799-1815. These, the most important documentary materials used in this study, are in manuscript form in the Ontario Public Archives. Strachan's letters to his former professor, Dr. Brown, form the bulk of this collection. Written with considerable flourish, they contain some penetrating insights into contemporary Upper Canadian affairs as well as a wealth of information about Strachan's activities during the period.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 3.

sity. These and other records of his activities at this time[3] are fascinating from two points of view. They shed much light not only on Strachan's future role in Upper Canadian society, but also on that society itself in its embryonic form. John Strachan, parish priest and school master, emerges as an interesting critic and commentator on the early development of Upper Canada.

I

The desire to establish educational institutions in Upper Canada was as old as the colony itself. The correspondence of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe with Bishop Mountain of Quebec was almost entirely concerned with projects for the founding of schools and a university. It was of utmost importance, Simcoe wrote in 1795, that seats of learning be established "not only to *begin,* but to *complete* the education of the Children of the principal People of this Country".[4] The Governor was willing to offer 100 pounds per annum to "any respectable Man" that the Bishop could recommend for the job of school master in Upper Canada, and within a few months he wrote to the Duke of Portland that he was paying this salary to a missionary by the name of Stuart in Kingston and intended to bestow the same on a Rev. Mr. Addison when he opened his school in Niagara.[5] At the same time, Simcoe apparently authorized Messrs. Robert Hamilton and Richard Cartwright, merchants of Kingston, to locate and invite to Canada a young man qualified to organize and administer a college or university for the colony.[6]

It seems to have been the Rev. George Hamilton, brother of Robert, who, after failing to arouse the interest of two relatively well-known scholars at St. Andrews in Scotland, finally offered the position to John

---

[3] Notable among these are John Strachan's Autobiography and Diary to 1799, known as "Ms. Relic of Bishop Strachan," of which the original manuscript is in the Trinity College Library, Toronto, and the Ontario Archives possesses a microfilmed copy. Part of this autobiography was published by T. A. Reed in an article entitled "John Strachan's Journey from Montreal to Kingston in December 1799" (*Ontario History,* XLII (4), October 1950, 213-217). Correspondence and reminiscences relating to Strachan's schools in Kingston and Cornwall are very important for the period 1800-1812 and include *Letters of John Strachan to John Beverley Robinson,* on microfilm in the Ontario Archives; letters in *Three Centuries of Robinsons; the Story of a Family* (Toronto, 1953), by Julia Jarvis; "Some Unpublished Letters of John Strachan, First Bishop of Toronto," a group of Strachan's letters to Dr. Solomon Jones and the Ridouts published by Lorne Pierce in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Ser. 3, Vol. XIII (Ottawa, 1929); the "Memoirs of Col. John Clark, of Port Dalhousie, 1860" (*Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records,* VII, 1906); and Matilda Edgar's *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War; being the Ridout Letters with annotations* (Toronto, 1890), though the exact wording of the letters unfortunately has been somewhat altered by the editor.

[4] E. A. Cruikshank ed., *The Simcoe Papers: the Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe with allied documents relating to his administration of the government* (Toronto, 1923), III, 349, Simcoe to the Bishop of Quebec, Kingston, April 30, 1795.

[5] *Ibid,* IV, 135, J. G. Simcoe to the Duke of Portland, Navy Hall, November 8, 1795.

[6] John Strachan, *Autobiography and Diary to 1729,* cited in J. G. Hodgins, ed., *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada . . . 1791-1876,* I (Toronto, 1890), 9.

Strachan, M.A., Brown's protegé.[7] Unfortunately the proposal was extremely vague. "He mentions no particulars respecting my intended situation in Canada," Strachan complained in a letter to Brown. "To go over might be against me, as Mr. Trotter thinks that the encouragement might be made better. . . . The disagreeable suspense in which I am still kept, becomes more and more unpleasant."[8]

Strachan's efforts to secure the best possible conditions in his new position were not without good reason. Since the death of his father—who had been killed at his job as a quarry foreman when John was only sixteen—he had been responsible for the support of his mother. He had been forced to go to work first as a private tutor, then as a parish school master. Yet Strachan had not by any means abandoned his academic ambitions. He had secured his Master of Arts at the University of Aberdeen and continued his education as a part-time student at St. Andrews, even entertaining hopes of becoming Dr. Brown's assistant at the latter institution. It was Strachan's failure to obtain this post that led him to consider seriously the opportunity in Canada.

Late in August of 1799, at the age of 21, Strachan embarked on the four-month journey that was to take him to Kingston. "My departure is not embittered by any patriotic feelings," he announced to Brown; "yet tho' I leave my country with the greatest indifference, I leave my friends with the most sincere regret."[9] Friends were evidently of more than average importance to Strachan; he was to miss Brown and people like him very deeply during the early years in Canada. Upon his arrival in Kingston, he discovered that Upper Canada was, from the educational point of view, more backward than he had imagined. The government grammar school and the possibility of a university, furthermore, were temporarily quite out of the question. Strachan's oft-quoted statement that he would have recrossed the Atlantic immediately had he possessed 20 pounds may have been quite accurate. Yet, it is doubtful that he was absolutely penniless, and his later assertion that he was also friendless cannot be taken literally. That Strachan dined nearly every night that he spent in Montreal with one of her most illustrious citizens, the Hon. James McGill, is sufficient evidence to the contrary.[10] And in Kingston he was immediately befriended by two of the most wealthy and prominent families of Upper Canada, the Cartwrights and the Hamiltons.

It was Richard Cartwright who offered Strachan the tutorship of his four children and assured him that while the establishment of a university would probably take longer "than might be convenient or agreeable", the founding of a grammar school was a more immediate possibility.[11] Strachan decided to stay. The addition of ten more boys gave him an initial enrollment of fourteen and a starting salary of 140 pounds.[12] Classes began almost immediately in the big Cartwright house which stood on the edge of the military reserve facing old Fort Frontenac.[13]

---

[7] H. F. Gardiner, "The Hamiltons of Queenston, Kingston and Hamilton," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records,* VIII, 1907, 26.

[8] Strachan to Brown, Kettle, April 13, 1799, *Strachan Papers.*

[9] Strachan to Brown, Greenock, August 25, 1799, *Strachan Papers.*

[10] T. A. Reed, "John Strachan's Journey from Montreal to Kingston in December, 1799," *Ontario History,* XLII (4), October 1950, 213

Before three years had passed, Strachan decided to become an Anglican minister and was appointed to a parish in Cornwall. The majority of his Kingston students followed him to the new location, and it was the school which he established in this old community on the St. Lawrence which was to become famous throughout the two Canadas. As Simcoe had predicted, the "principal people" of the young colony were extremely anxious to educate their offspring, and Strachan's school grew rapidly. In addition to the Cartwrights, the Hamiltons and Macaulays, the children of Kingston's most prominent ministers, the Reverend Messrs. Stuart and Bethune, were taught by Strachan. The Jarvises and the Ridouts of York sent their boys to Cornwall and among the number who came from Lower Canada were the children of Montreal's Dr. Solomon Jones. Strachan's pupils also included quite a few local children and at least one orphan who paid no fees, John Beverley Robinson.[14] By 1807 there were 36 boys at Cornwall, and Thomas Ridout reported to his father that, while classes were still being held in the church, construction on the new school house had begun. It was going to be arched and have twelve windows![15] The school was obviously prospering.

No ordinary success, however, would satisfy John Strachan. In spite of the efforts of Bishop Mountain to persuade him that "school" was a much more respectable word than "academy",[16] Strachan significantly continued to use the latter term. Academy implied much more than a simple grammar school, although not a college. It also meant less emphasis on the classics than was usual in the typical grammar school.[17] Strachan had immediately recognized the necessity of adapting his educational programme to the practical needs of Upper Canada. "You must be sensible that my plan must be chiefly of a practical nature," he writes to Brown; "and far inferior to what would be necessary in one of your Universities, for my pupils are commonly greatly limited in point of time;

---

[11] Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education* . . . I, 9.

[12] "Memoirs of Col. John Clark, of Port Dalhousie 1860," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, VII, 1906, 185. Clark was one of Strachan's Kingston pupils.

[13] Margaret Angus, "Some Old Kingston Homes and the Families who lived in them," *Historic Kingston*, IV (1955), 1815 map on page 4.

[14] A list of the Cornwall students may be found in Fennings Taylor, *The Last Three Bishops appointed by the Crown for the Anglican Church of Canada*, (Montreal, 1869), Appendix No. 1, 267-69.

[15] M. Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805-1815, being the Ridout Letters with Annotations* (Toronto, 1890), 25, Thomas Ridout to his father, Cornwall, June 16, 1807.

[16] Bishop of Quebec to Strachan, February 11, 1809, *Strachan Papers*.

[17] G. W. Spragge, "The Cornwall Grammar School under John Strachan, 1803-1812," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, XXXIV, 1942, 64.

their parents are anxious to get them introduced to business, and they can seldom appreciate the advantages of a liberal system of Education."[18]

Teaching materials were another problem. Strachan had been at Cornwall for six years before he succeeded in getting proper apparatus for science demonstrations. Adequate text books did not exist in Upper Canada and had to be ordered from abroad. On one occasion the bookseller sent only half of a two-volume work which Strachan had ordered; on another, the bookseller was dead by the time the order had arrived.[19] Lacking an arithmetic text suited to the needs of his pupils, Strachan wrote one of his own and had it published in Montreal. "It was my duty," he wrote in the preface to this volume, "to make a useful book rather than an ingenious one."[20] Introductory lessons were followed by sections dealing with the buying and selling of stocks and land surveying; the book ended with an appendix on business forms. While Strachan felt that a knowledge of arithmetic was essential to the businessman, he also believed it "highly requisite to the Scholar and ornamental to the Gentleman",[21] and it was of utmost importance, in his view, that his school produce the latter breed. Yet he was wise enough to realize that gentlemen of business were what Upper Canada most wanted at this time.

By all accounts, Strachan was a very fine teacher and school administrator.[22] An important aspect of his system was the extensive use which he made of the public examination. The Cornwall examinations took place in the summer and were widely attended. By inviting "all the respectable people within thirty miles" and giving them a good dinner afterwards, Strachan hoped to arouse the interest of the public in education and "in time induce the government to take up the business. . . ."[23] His examination addresses were usually published and must have done much to further his cause. Perhaps the account in the *Upper Canada Gazette and American Oracle* of one of the first Cornwall public examinations best illustrates their importance. The following appeared on the 24th of August, 1805:

> On the 31st of July last a general examination took place at the young gentlemen under the tuition of the Rev. John Strachan, at Cornwall, Upper Canada. The invitation to the country at large, and the parents in particular, produced a most respectable meeting, among whom were the Rev. James Rudd, the Rev. Mr. Bethune, the Rev. Mr. McDonell, Mr. Justice Powell, the Solicitor-

---

[18] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, July 13, 1806, *Strachan Papers.*

[19] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 21, 1809, *Strachan Papers* and Strachan to J. B. Robinson, Cornwall, January 25, 1809, *Letters of John Strachan to John Beverley Robinson,* 1807-1815, (Microfilm, Ontario Public Archives).

[20] Rev. John Strachan, *A Concise Introduction to Practical Arithmetic; for the use of Schools,* (Montreal, 1809), v.

[21] *Ibid.,* vi.

[22] See G. W. Spragge, "The Cornwall Grammar School under John Strachan." Firsthand accounts are to be found in A. N. Bethune's *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan, D.D., LL.D., First Bishop of Toronto,* (Toronto, 1870), 20-25, and in Henry Scadding's *The First Bishop of Toronto: A Review and a Study* (Toronto, 1868), 21-22.

[23] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 20, 1807, *Strachan Papers.*

> General, Col. McDonell, Glengarry House, etc.
>
> The students underwent in their different classes a rigid examination as well at the instance of the gentlemen of learning who attended, as of the Rev. Preceptor, in the following order:—The Latin Classics, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Elements of Mathematics, Elements of Geography, of Natural and Civil History . . .
>
> The flourishing state of this infant seminary cannot fail of exciting the most lively satisfaction to this rising country, more especially as it holds out to our view a prospect of education on the most liberal scale, for the succeeding race, independent of foreign aid.[24]

Strachan's students worked hard, as Thomas Ridout pointed out to his parents, staying up until 12 or 1 o'clock every night to complete their assignments,[25] and their efforts aroused interest throughout the colony. The Cornwall School was obviously a great success. Still Strachan was never satisfied with his achievement at Cornwall and often complained to Brown of the disadvantages of his position. "The want of Society in Cornwall is to me a serious evil," he writes in 1805; "and induces me to look forward to Kingston as a permanent, tho' not more lucrative Situation; there too assisted, as I should be by Mr. Cartwright, I might raise my Academy to a greater degree of Splendour than I can do here."[26]

While the move to Kingston never materialized, something better did, and the year 1812 found Strachan moving bag and baggage to York, the provincial capital. The founding of the York school was heralded with glee by residents like the Ridouts,[27] and began a new era in Strachan's career in education. Since Strachan owed the new position to his connection with the Church of England, we shall now turn to consider this aspect of his early life in Upper Canada.

II

Strachan was ordained a minister of the Anglican Church in 1803. This step requires some explanation since Strachan was of Presbyterian rather than Anglican background, and had originally applied, unsuccessfully, for the pastorship of the Scottish Presbyterian St. Gabriel Street Church in Montreal.[28] His defenders have made much of the point that his parents were not members of the main branch of the Presbyterian Church.[29] While his mother belonged to the "Relief Kirk" or Scottish Methodist Church, his father was a member of the part of the Church of Scotland known as "non-jurant Episcopalian", and Strachan apparently attended both of these churches in his youth. It is perhaps even more significant that during his tutoring days in Scotland Strachan had attended divinity lectures at St. Andrews where he came into contact with some of the foremost Scottish theologians of his day. These gentlemen of the established Church of Scotland evidently saw little difference then between their church and the Church of England. Roderick MacLeod made this clear to Strachan in an emphatic letter written in 1809: "I have no objection to the Church of England, there is no material difference between them, they are but graceless zealots who fight for modes of faith or worship, he can't be wrong whose life is in the Right."[30] MacLeod's all-embracing statement confirmed the views which Strachan held at this time.

---

[24] Cited in Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, I, 34.

[25] Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War*, 22, Thomas Ridout to his parents, Jan. 10, 1807.

[26] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, August 27, 1805, *Strachan Papers.*

[27] Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War*, 64, George Ridout to his brother in England, York, October 19, 1811.

[28] G. W. Spragge, ed., *The John Strachan Letterbook, 1812-1834*, (Toronto, 1946), Introduction, xiv.

[29] Bethune, *Memoir*, 1-2; Scadding, *The First Bishop of Toronto*, 14; A. H. Young, "John Strachan," *Queen's Quarterly*, XXXV, May 1928, 387.

It was not out of character for Strachan to choose what was apparently to be the "established" church of the new colony. He had continued his readings in theology under the Rev. John Stuart who was also a Presbyterian turned Anglican and this study evidently had an immense influence on his thinking. The fact that the Cartwrights and the majority of Strachan's "respectable" acquaintances were members of the Church of England was undoubtedly another determining factor in his choice.

Yet that the decision was not an easy one comes out clearly in Strachan's letters to Brown. In January of 1802 he expresses his anxiety to be advised on the question of whether he should take holy orders: "I hope your answer is on the way ere this time. I have some expectations of being permitted to leave Kingston several months before the expiration of my engagement, but I want your letter."[31] By October Brown still had not answered and Strachan wrote that, while he continued "as much in doubt as ever", if a certain unnamed church became vacant about the time that his engagement expired, he would accept it. "If not, I shall first go to the Lower Province, and learn to speak French—from Lower Canada I shall go to the States, where if I do not think I can easily succeed, it is probable I shall recross the Atlantic & try my fortune in Britain."[32]

Strachan never had to act on these rather reckless plans for the desired opportunity for advancement came to him shortly after this letter was written. There is no record of an answer to his pleas for advice, but on the 22 of May, 1803, Strachan was ordained in the Church of England and three days later he received his appointment to the parish of Cornwall. The pragmatic nature of Strachan's decision, obviously based in large measure upon his desire for personal advancement, has been deplored, and sympathetic writers have tried to explain it away on various grounds. Still it must be admitted that, above all, Strachan was a practical man. Labour should have its rewards—and Strachan felt that his efforts would be most fruitful in Upper Canada if carried on within the framework of the Anglican Church. To the cause of education was added the cause of respectable religion.

---

[30] Roderick McLeod to Strachan, October 7, 1809; cited in Spragge, *The John Strachan Letterbook,* Introduction, xiv.

[31] Strachan to Brown, Kingston, January 22, 1802, *Strachan Papers.*

[32] Strachan to Brown, Kingston, October 23, 1802, *Strachan Papers.*

There is no reason to assume, however, that Strachan closed his eyes entirely in the matter of religion in 1803. His school enrollment at Cornwall is a good indication of his tolerance. While predominantly Anglican, it always included a good proportion of Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Independents.[33] More revealing, perhaps, is the plan for a series of theology lectures which Strachan outlined in a letter to Brown. "The obligation of Charity among different denominations," he notes, "and the excellence of Universal toleration would afford ample matter for several animated lectures." The real test of any church was, after all, its effect on the manners and morals of its adherents, "for religion is only valuable as it makes us better men . . . "[34] Strachan was in essential agreement with MacLeod's dictum that "he can't be wrong whose life is in the Right".

This attitude is the clue to Strachan's whole religious outlook. It was not the theology of the various dissenting churches to which he objected so violently; it was rather the social behaviour of their adherents. He writes to Brown that he is "in a pickle" because the majority of his parishioners are not Anglican. He speaks of the success of the Methodists, who despair of getting to heaven by works and trick the people by their pretensions to sudden inspirations. "To give you some idea of the manners of the common people here, it is necessary to remind you that they are almost all Americans. . . ."[35] It was probably because of this that the dissenters fared so well. In another letter to Brown Strachan complained that the Methodists were filling the country with the most deplorable fanaticism. "You can have almost no conception of their excesses. They will bawl twenty of them at once, tumble on the ground, laugh, sing, jump & stamp and this they call the working of the spirit. All this arises from the fewness of the regular Clergy there being only six of us in the Upper Province."[36] This was written in 1806. As early as 1800 there had been seven Methodist circuit riders in Upper Canada and by 1811 the number had tripled.[37] In 1804 the Baptists had five ordained ministers in eastern Upper Canada alone.[38]

On various occasions Strachan pointed out that the majority of people in the province were without any particular religious affiliation, because of their isolation from the clergy. A Baptist preacher reported the same phenomenon: "some, in this Province, have lived here fourteen years, and they told me they had not heard one sermon, from any regular preacher, except the Methodists. . . ."[39] It was for these uncommitted souls that the various denominations were fighting in Upper Canada and there was no doubt that in the period before 1812 the winners in the battle were the dissenting sects, whose methods and organization were better adapted to a North American frontier community.

---

[33] The *Strachan Papers* include several school lists. In 1805 there were 29 Anglicans, 12 Presbyterians, 2 Roman Catholics and 3 Independents at Cornwall; in 1807, 32 Anglicans, 10 Presbyterians, 6 Roman Catholics and 4 Independents.

[34] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, August 27, 1805, *Strachan Papers.*

[35] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 27, 1803, *Strachan Papers.*

[36] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, July 13, 1806, *Strachan Papers.*

[37] S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada,* (Toronto, 1948), 94.

[38] S. Ivison and F. Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820,* (Toronto, 1956), 45.

Strachan both recognized and deplored this fact, as his letters to Brown indicate: "Every Parish in this country is to be made, the people have little or no religion, and their minds are so prone to low cunning, that it will be difficult to make any thing of them."[40] Yet Strachan refused to be conquered. He was determined to "make" his Parish. By 1806 he had built a substantial church at Cornwall and George Ridout reported to his brother that it was probably better than the new church at York, which he understood was only clapboarded.[41] Strachan's Sunday harangues against the Methodists, "not mentioning them by name as that would be to lose my labour",[42] were evidently rewarded, for in 1814 his successor at Cornwall reported that he had cleared away all dissenters, with the exception of "a few Scotch Presbyterians" who would no doubt soon conform.[43]

On the basis of his own experience, then, Strachan was justified in assuming that, given the men and the money, the Church of England could prosper in Upper Canada. Religious affiliations were loose or non-existent; the people would welcome the respectable established church if it came to them. This assumption was to colour his thinking in years to come. Thus in 1827 he was to deplore "the very limited and fluctuating revenue of the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts" on which the Upper Canadian Anglican Church was forced to depend, for "how inefficient this aid is to supply the increasing necessities of the colony has been sufficiently shown, for the tendency of the population is towards the Church of England, and nothing but the want of moderate support prevents her from spreading over the whole province."[44] It was also because of his feeling that lack of funds was the major obstacle to the progress of the church that he later attached so much importance to the Anglican monopoly of revenue deriving from the clergy reserves.

Another obstacle to the progress of the Church of England, in Strachan's view, was the policy of the Bishop of Quebec. Bishop Mountain and the Cornwall schoolmaster never had seen eye to eye, and in 1812

---

[39] Cited in *Ibid.*, 37, 40, Joseph Cornell to the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, April 6, 1803.

[40] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 27, 1803, *Strachan Papers.*

[41] Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War*, 19, George Ridout to his brother Thomas, Cornwall, February 24, 1806.

[42] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 27, 1803, *Strachan Papers.*

[43] W. P. Bull, *From Strachan to Owen: How the Church of England was planted and tended in British North America,* (Toronto, 1937), 72.

[44] "Copy of a Letter addressed to R. S. Wilmot Horton, Esq. by the Rev. Dr. Strachan . . . 16th May, 1827; respecting the State of the Church . . ." (Pamphlet in Toronto Reference Library).

Strachan wrote to Brown that he was convinced that "a person with less learning, and more moderate ideas with good sense would be infinitely more use" to the church in Upper Canada.[45] By this time Strachan's quarrel with the Bishop had culminated in open warfare. Bishop Mountain had turned over the coveted parish of Kingston to the Rev. George Stuart, son of the previous incumbent. While it was perhaps natural that a son should replace his father, Strachan must have been bitterly disappointed at losing the opportunity to move his school to his favourite site. Stuart's removal to Kingston, however, created a vacancy at York, and in 1811 General Brock offered the parish and school of the capital to Strachan. In addition Brock promised him the post of Bishop's Commissary, which would have meant an important increase in Strachan's salary.

George Ridout voiced York's pleasure on hearing that Strachan was to be the new minister. "Mr. Strachan is appointed rector of this place in the stead of Mr. Stuart, who goes to Kingston in the room of his father. We have reason to rejoice at the exchange, as thereby we can send John, Horace and Charles to school here at less expense, exclusive, too, of the difference in the characters of the two men: one sociable and cheerful, the other haughty, sullen and austere."[46] The Ridouts' pleasure was to be short-lived, however, for Bishop Mountain, without informing Strachan, decided to make Stuart his commissioner, and Strachan felt that he could not afford to accept the York appointment by itself. He wrote to Brown giving a full account of this affair and expressing his bitterness at what he regarded as duplicity on Mountain's part. He claimed he had declared open war on the Bishop and thus compromised his own position forever: "I shall no doubt get embroiled with others on this occasion, and must bid adieu to such emolument from my School in future, or for ever turning it into a College, as I shall now experience powerful opposition; this also is not a situation for acting on a great Scale. Kingston was my favourite place on account of Mr. Cartwright who would have been an able second in all my Schemes."[47]

Yet, he also wrote, "York would have done." And, to Strachan's delight, General Brock replaced the lost commissionership, offering in its stead the chaplaincies of the Legislative Council and of the troops. Now the move to York was financially feasible and Strachan considered it a great triumph that he was now able to go to the capital "with honour". "The offer was made in a manner so delicate, and the prospects at the seat of Govt are so much superior to what they are here, that I did not hesitate about the matter . . ."[48]

---

[45] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, May 24, 1812, *Strachan Papers.*

[46] Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War,* 64, George Ridout to his brother in England, York, October 19, 1811.

[47] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 13, 1811, *Strachan Papers.*

[48] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, May 24, 1812, *Strachan Papers.*

III

The move to the capital was an important step. Strachan was now to be at the nerve centre of Upper Canadian affairs, a great advantage in a colony where so much depended on political manoeuvering. Yet it would be quite inaccurate to assume that prior to his transfer to York Strachan had been totally unconcerned with politics.

In the light of Strachan's subsequent career it is amusing to discover that, as a young man in Scotland, this very symbol of Canadian Toryism had nearly lost a schoolmaster's post because, having refused to hand in the militia list, he had been publicly branded a "democrate".[49] And even as a dyed-in-the-wool conservative he had in 1801 written the following commentary on Upper Canadian politics to Dr. Brown: "Our provincial politics are hardly worth noticing; the little parliament however do not seem unanimous, the servants of the Crown have used their opponents too imperiously, stigmatizing them with the opprobrious name of D[emocra]ts, nor do they agree among themselves."[50] This early sympathy with the "opposition" in Upper Canada no doubt reflects the views of Richard Cartwright, who although eminently respectable, was often on the "wrong" side of the fence in politics and opposed the government on many occasions.[51] Perhaps after 1801 Cartwright found less to oppose in the government's policy and Strachan's views followed suit. But, even more, the increasing impact of American society on Upper Canada was bound to affect the opinions of a conservative like Strachan.

Strachan's letters to his dependant and favourite pupil, John Beverley Robinson, are revealing in this respect. In 1808, for example, he found two aspects of Upper Canadian political life to condemn: the ignorance of the Attorney-General in the existing Assembly and the growing gulf between the Assembly and the Upper House. He also made a stab at the Judiciary: "A more wretched system than our District Courts could not be conceived. To place a man at the head of a tribunal of Justice totally ignorant of the laws by which he ought to be guided in all his decisions, is an absurdity not to be found in any country but this, and an excellent subject for ridicule, were not the consequences too serious."[52]

Gradually Strachan had come to realize that in order to achieve their aims, respectable people must band together in opposition to the ignorance of the masses. Perhaps it was such reasoning that lay in part behind his choice of the Anglican Church as the framework for his labours. Strachan had always believed in the importance of friends; now friendship took on a new significance. It was only through influential friends that one could get things done in the little province.

---

[49] John Strachan, *Autobiography and Diary to 1799*, 89.

[50] Strachan to Brown, Kingston, March 31, 1801, *Strachan Papers*.

[51] J. A. Roy, *Kingston, The King's Town*, (Toronto, 1952), 58, 60. Roy mentions Cartwright's opposition to Governor Simcoe in general and to the establishment of the Anglican Church in particular.

[52] Strachan to Robinson, Cornwall, March 14, 1808, *Letters of John Strachan to John Beverley Robinson.*

He had many opportunities to apply this maxim. His role in the passing of the District Schools Act of 1807, however, is unfortunately not very clear. While Robinson later claimed that Strachan had been the power behind the bill, there is little evidence for this other than the fact that many of the people who are known to have promoted it were relatives of Strachan's pupils.[53] It was his campaign to get the legislature to vote money specifically for the Cornwall School which provided Strachan with the first and probably the best lesson in provincial politics that he ever received. Needing money for the purchase of scientific apparatus for Cornwall, he began his efforts to secure it in 1804. The bill appropriating 400 pounds for the purpose was finally passed in 1806. Three years later the equipment actually arrived. "There has been a new election since the money was voted," Strachan complained in 1808, "and my friends are all out, indeed the House will be composed of ignorant clowns, for the spirit of levelling seemed to pervade the province. I have yet interest in the Upper House but that is not enough; however I hope that good sense will prevail next election and in the meantime we shall prevent the present members from doing mischief. By an bye, my pupils will be getting forward, some of them perhaps into the House & then I shall have more in my power."[54]

This is perhaps the most basic statement of his politics that Strachan ever made. He obviously saw two channels for the furtherance of his aims: his friends and his students. Most important among the former were the Montreal and Upper Canadian merchants whose power and prestige extended from Quebec to Detroit.[55] In the spring of 1807 Strachan, now aged 29, married the wealthy young widow of Andrew McGill, thus cementing his relations with this group. He writes to Brown that he had almost forgotten to tell him of this important step: ". . . seeing no prospect of my ever being able to return home, I married last spring— and find myself very happy in the connexion. My wife has an annuity of three hundred a year during her life — She has a great share of beauty in her twenty-second year & as good an education as this country could afford, which by the way is not great."[56] Not long after the wedding George Ridout wrote home to his brother that Mr. Strachan had been married for nearly two months, "by which he got an addition of 300 pounds to his salary. He lives in great *style* and keeps three servants. He is a great friend to the poor and spends his money I believe as fast as he gets it. . . . "[57]

The obvious financial benefits should not be overestimated in determining Strachan's decision to marry and it is only natural that Strachan should have married into what he regarded as the most respectable society. Other acquisitions complete the picture of the young schoolmaster's rise in the world. In 1804 he petitioned for land and received the usual allotment for first-class citizens of 1200 acres, somewhere in the neighborhood of Cornwall.[58] The only thing he now lacked was a title:

---

[53] G. W. Spragge, "John Strachan's Contribution to Education, 1800-1823," *Canadian Historical Review,* June, 1941, 148-50.

[54] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 9, 1808, *Strachan Papers.*

[55] A. H. Young, ed. *The Parish Register of Kingston, Upper Canada, 1785-1811* (Kingston, 1921), 7.

[56] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 20, 1807, *Strachan Papers.*

[57] Cited in Spragge, "The Cornwall Grammar School under John Strachan," 74, George Ridout to Sam Ridout, Cornwall, June 24, 1807.

> An Honorary degree, [he informed Brown] . . . would be of great service to me here, for although there are no distinctions of rank in this country, no people are so fond of them. If a fellow gets a commission in the Militia however low he will not speak to you under the title of Captain. Squires and Colonels we have without number — the same rage pervades persons of sense, from custom, so that I have no doubt, but that a degree might in some measure increase my influence. . . . You will be entertained as all this, and I should laugh at it myself, were I with you at St. Andrews, but here I have nobody (I mean no literary person) to laugh with. . . .[59]

The lonely schoolmaster, however, was already on the way to becoming the noted Dr. Strachan to the Upper Canadian community, for he had received an L.L.D. at St. Andrews in 1807 and a D.D. from Aberdeen in 1811.

But marriage, landholdings, degrees and connections with the merchants of the empire of the St. Lawrence pale beside the vast influence which Strachan was able to exert, particularly in later years, through his pupils. In his relationship with his boys Strachan was at his best. He had endeavoured to cultivate the minds of his students, and to implant in their hearts the principles which alone could make them "good Christians, faithful subjects, and upright members of society".[60] He was earnestly ambitious for his students, and wrote countless letters to them after they left Cornwall, exhorting them to better behaviour when they fell below his standards, and to even greater efforts when they were successful. Strachan's letters to John Beverley Robinson are full of warm-hearted advice on the most personal matters.[61]

That Strachan's efforts were rewarded with undying gratitude is unquestioned. "Nothing in this piece of good fortune," Robinson writes on the occasion of his appointment as Attorney-General, "gives me greater pleasure than the opportunity it affords me of acknowledging once more that to you I am indebted for whatever success has attended, or may attend, me throughout life.[62] Many of Strachan's former pupils earned renown during the War of 1812 and were to become Upper Canada's most prominent citizens in the years thereafter.

---

[58] Bull, *From Strachan to Owen,* 72.

[59] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 9, 1808, *Strachan Papers.*

[60] Archdeacon Patton, "A Sermon on the Life, Labours and Character of the Late Honourable and Right-Reverend John Strachan . . .", (Montreal, 1868), Appendix D, 34; Strachan speech, July 2, 1833.

[61] Julia Jarvis, *Three Centuries of Robinsons: the Story of a Family,* (The University of Toronto Library, 1953), 112-120.

[62] *Ibid.,* 127.

The approach of this war and its final outcome had an immense impact on the thinking of Strachan and his contemporaries. Old loyalties were stirred up, and there is little doubt that the conflict and its perils served to widen the gap between conservatives like Strachan and Upper Canadians of radical inclination. The war put Strachan and everything he stood for on the "right" side, while radicalism was now regarded as disgustingly Yankee. His years of residence in British North America had already convinced Strachan of the general lowness of all things American. Critical of the Loyalists for their tendency to be continually in debt, he had little use for more recent emigrants from the United States. "There is a most lamentable want of what we could call independent or respectable people," Strachan complained to Brown. "Plenty of them have now acquired property, but in point of information they are brutes."[63] The Americans were not only ignorant; they had imported into Canada a fondness for political and legal embroilments which Strachan deplored:

> I can assure you that the praises bestowed on the United States on your side of the water are very much misplaced. A few months residence in America would greatly chastise a man's political notions. I have profited by my neighbourhood to Democracy. In point of real happiness the British are far superior to the inhabitants of this celebrated republic. Our Courts of justice are infinitely more pure, and I will venture to say, that less corruption and infinitely less meanness prevail in the administration of our Government . . .
>
> The frequency of the elections keeps them in a continual broil; to promote the interests of their factions they do not hesitate to fabricate the greatest falsehoods, and most horrid slanders — private correspondence is ransacked, and published — family secrets are exposed — Friendship itself is violated — in a word those domestic and social virtues those charities which sweeten life, and are the purest sources of our happiness are blasted and made the sources of the most painful sensations. *The effects produced by licentious liberty and depotism like those of heat and cold are nearly the same. I am as friendly as ever to true liberty, but experience and observation teach me to modify my improvements, and to adapt them with caution.*[64]

Strachan's increasing conservatism, then, was a result of the impact on his mind in the early years, of the American way of life which he very much feared would absorb Upper Canada. The War of 1812 partially ended these fears; Upper Canada was invaded but saved, symbolically purged of the threat of Americanism. Strachan personally became famous for his defiance of the American Commander Dearborn at the capture of York in 1813, and he was also instrumental in the founding and promoting of "the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada."[65] Perhaps because of what he called the "weakness and imbecility"[66] of the British Commanders who followed Brock, Strachan himself, and those young lieutenants and captains many of whom had been his pupils, emerged from the war among the triumphant heroes of Upper Canada's resistance.[67]

---

[63] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 27, 1803, *Strachan Papers*.

[64] Strachan to Brown, Cornwall, October 21, 1809, *Strachan Papers*. Italics added.

[65] See Charles Humphries "The Capture of York, 1813" (*Ontario History*, LI (1), Winter 1959, 1-21) and Hamilton Craig "The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada and Its Still-Born Child — the "Upper Canada Preserved Medal" (*Ontario History*, LII (1), March 1960, 31-52).

[66] Strachan to Brown, York, April 26, 1813, *Strachan Papers*. Another letter of October 30, in the same year, contains similar criticism of the British command.

Ignorance, Methodism and imperfect political institutions might remain in Upper Canada. But by 1814 Strachan had acquired the power and prestige with which to combat them. Some of his original educational, religious and political ideals he had been forced to modify. As far as Strachan could see, the Upper Canadian situation demanded such modification. Practical problems required practical solutions, he believed, and the only way to fight the enemy was with his own weapons. And so began his real years of power in the province.

---

[67] Bull, *From Strachan to Owen*, 76. See also C. P. Stacey "The War of 1812 in Canadian History" (*Ontario History*, L (3), Summer 1958, 153-59).

REPORT OF THE MUSEUMS SECTION FOR 1959-60

By Miss Kaye McFarland

Last October I was called very unexpectedly to take over the Chairmanship of the Museums Section of the Ontario Historical Society owing to the illness of Dr. J. F. Morton of Southampton. We are sorry to lose, even temporarily, his advice and assistance, but we realize it is imperative that he conserve his energy for office and home responsibilities. We trust he will be back as a member of the executive within a year or two. The welcome mat will be out for Dr. Morton whenever he considers the time opportune to return as a member of the Museums Section executive.

The Annual Workshop was held in Cornwall in October 1959. It was a decided success with more than 118 persons registered in attendance. We hope they will all return to Hamilton-Dundas for the 1960 Workshop and bring their museum friends with them. The Workshop Report has already been published and many of you will have received your copies so I need not dwell further on the details of our meetings at Cornwall.

During the months since the Workshop there have been four executive meetings of the Section, two at Stanley Barracks and the others as the guests of Alice Davidson and Ruth Home. My thanks go to these kind persons and also to Lieut.-Colonel J. A. McGinnis who was our host at Stanley Barracks.

Two resolutions were received and passed at the Annual Meeting in October. These have been forwarded to the Executive Committee of the Onutario Historical Society and were favourably received there.

We have been working on a set of bylaws governing meetings, elections and work of the Section. They have been tabled pending the acceptance at the Annual Meeting of the Society of a number of amendments to the Constitution of the Ontario Historical Society, including some to the paragraphs of Section 22 governing membership, voting, and purpose of the Museums Section. Now that the amendments have been passed the bylaws will be brought forward for approval by the Section's Annual Meeting in October. If accepted there it will then be necessary to submit them for approval to the Executive Committee of the Ontario Historical Society before they finally can go into effect.

The booklet "Conservation of Objects in the Historical Museum" by William Todd was sent out to the members along with the Workshop Report. Copies of the various publications of the Museums Section are still available through Mrs. P. S. Dunbar. A slide project on methods of preservation is being studied by William Todd, Lieut.-Colonel McGinnis and William Renison.

A questionnaire was sent to all museums in Ontario asking if they would be interested in honouring province-wide museums membership passes. Miss Alice Davidson will report on the responses to the question: "Would you be agreeable to the use of a card authorizing free admission to your Museum for holders of the Museums Section card?".

At our meeting in March we were privileged to have in attendance Professor Careless and Mr. S. James Gooding, Museums Advisor of the Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity. Mr. Gooding advised us on a recent survey of museums which yielded valuable information on attendance, sponsoring groups, cataloguing methods, and types of display. The information is available from the Department upon request. He brought the Section up to date on the work he is doing to assist established museums and others in the process of organization. His services are available free of charge to any museum for as many visits as they may desire. We know that many museums and historical societies already have derived great benefit from his work. I feel we should express our appreciation to Mr. Gooding and his Department for the efforts they are making towards the betterment of the museums movement in Ontario. In this connection we must also report that the Department has made available a series of slides on "Museums Outdoor Signs" and is planning others on display methods and conservation.

At the October Annual Meeting Mrs. Verna Taylor (wife of our well-known Andrew) accepted the position of editor of the Newsletter. This is a very difficult post to fill; few of us have the necessary qualifications. Therefore we count ourselves fortunate indeed to have the services of Verna in this capacity. For those who receive the Newsletter the results speak for themselves. We also express our appreciation to Marie (Mrs. Paul) Hughes who edited the Newsletter so successfully for several years, building it up to a "newsy" museums publication. As Dr. Morton said in his report last year, "In addition to reporting the activities of the Museums it keeps the members informed of courses and other services available to them; it also is a means of keeping the small museums up to date concerning events and happenings of importance and interest to Museums workers. It has contained announcements of new Museums, descriptions of developments which have taken place within established museums, and stories of particular exhibits and displays which have aroused unusual interest." All we ask is that the historical societies, museums, and other associations of like nature keep the news items going to the Taylors at R.R.5, Galt. The Newsletter has about ninety subscribers at present and a mailing list of approximately 125. We strive for many more.

The Annual Workshop for 1960 will be held during the week-end of October 21, 22, 23 next, in Hamilton and Dundas. You will receive further information at a later date.

During the winter I attended all the meetings of the Executive Committee of the Ontario Historical Society and can truthfully say I enjoyed them. I was fortunate in being appointed to the committee, headed by David McFall, which worked on the revision of the Constitution. As a result I know a great deal more about the Society than I otherwise would have learned. I must express my appreciation to the executive of the Ontario Historical Society for their kindness to me as Chairman of the Museums Section.

In the "Reminiscences", which I prepared for the latest Workshop Report, the original text included a passage which I believe could apply as well to the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society as to that of the Museums Section Workshop: "I remember all those persons who attended the Workshop that we did not expect—the old friends are wonderful, we look forward to seeing them each year. But how pleased we are when someone arrives unexpectedly, someone we do not look for. Then we have the challenge of making the Workshop (or, in this case, the Annual Meeting) so interesting that they will return the following year." Perhaps you will attend the Workshop in Hamilton-Dundas and give us a pleasant surprise.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. E. A. Lacey received his B.A. degree at Toronto in the spring of 1959 and after working last summer in the Ontario Department of Public Reords and Archives has gone to pursue his postgraduate studies in the United States.

Miss Alison Smith gained an M.A. degree in Modern History at the University of Toronto in 1959 and subsequently taught on the staff of Harbord Collegiate Institute in Toronto. Now Mrs. James D. Prentice, she makes Toronto her home.

Rev. Duncan Fraser graduated from Brown University and afterwards studied theology in New York City and at Oxford. Formerly dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John, in Providence, Rhode Island, he has also served several parishes. He now lives in Johnstown, New York, where he is pursuing his long-time interest in the settling of colonial New York by British and Scottish immigrants.

Mr. William H. Cranston is editor of the *Midland Free Press* and chairman of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario.

SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S RENT ROLL OF THE KINGSBOROUGH PATENT

By Duncan Fraser

It is strange that no historian of the American Revolution seems to have noticed a document that sheds light on some of the settlers of Tryon County, New York, many of whom served in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, Butler's Rangers, and MacLean's 84th Regiment. Recently, while studying Sir John Johnson's Loyalist Claim for losses in New York State,[1] I found a reference to a Rent Roll for the Kingsborough Patent and Johnstown which had been submitted with the Claim.[2] As documents supporting Loyalist Claims are usually filed separately in the Public Record Office at London, I was able to get a copy of the Rent Roll through the help of Lt. Colonel M. E. S. Laws of Hove, Sussex, England.[3] Since then, other copies of the Rent Roll have been made accessible for study at the Public Archives of Canada, the State Library at Albany, New York, and the Department of History and Archives of Montgomery County, Fonda, New York. The Rent Roll, never before in print, will be found as an appendix to this article.

This Rent Roll should prove of considerable interest to historians of land settlement in British North America in the eighteenth century, and to the many descendants of the Johnson tenants, both in Canada and the United States. From the Loyalist Claims of Sir John Johnson, Colonel Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, and Colonel John Butler,—all on file in the Public Record Office, and on microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada —it is possible to gain a fairly clear picture of land settlement in Tryon County on the eve of the Revolution.[4] The Rent Roll settles, too, a problem long unsolved in the Mohawk Valley and at Johnstown: the names of many "Scotch Highlanders" who were such a thorn in the side of the Committees of Safety during the Revolution. In some cases, the Rent Roll shows where these tenants of the Johnson family lived before the War, and the dates when they took their leases. A map of the Kingsborough Patent, now in the State Library at Albany, often locates the tenants' lots beyond all doubt.

Through confiscation by the State of New York in 1779, Sir John Johnson lost some 200,000 acres of land for his loyalty to the Crown. Of this, the greater part came to him by the will of his father, Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northern District from 1762 until his death in 1774. The heartland of Sir John's estate was

---

[1] The New York Public Library. *Loyalist Transcripts,* various volumes.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Public Record Office, London. AO 13/114 (Extract).

[4] N.Y.P.L. *Loyalist Transcripts,* various volumes. Colonel John Butler's Claim is incomplete in this collection. It is in the P.R.O. AO 12/109; AO 13/117.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 3.

the village of Johnstown, the seat of Tryon County beginning in 1772,[5] and the Kingsborough Patent, between whose Eastern and Western allotments the village lay. On the Kingsborough Patent, Sir John owned all the land, except for a few hundred acres that had been willed to his brothers-in-law, Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus, and to his half-brother, Peter Johnson. A mere fifty acres had also been left for the duration of three lives to Joseph Chew, one of Sir William's executors, and Secretary of Indian Affairs in Canada at the time of his death in 1798.[6] Of the Kingsborough Patent, Sir John states in his Loyalist Claim that "he never sold or intended to sell any part of this tract." Instead, over 35,000 acres were let out on long leases to over two hundred tenants. The farm at Johnson Hall, the Mansion House, had five hundred acres. In 1776, the Kingsborough rents amounted to £1476.17.6; by 1778 they amounted to £2341.7, with an average of 20 shillings per acre. Within the village of Johnstown, the rents were £526.9 in 1776.[7] The village did not grow until the Revolution, when American troops were stationed there.

The Kingsborough Patent lay four miles north of the Mohawk River, filling most of the present Township of Johnstown in Fulton County. On the south, it was bounded by Butlersbury, the 4,000-acre estate of Colonel John Butler, and by other tracts, including a part of the Stone Arabia Patent. To the west, lay the Royal Grant, or Kingsland, 20,000 acres granted Sir William Johnson by the Crown for his services in the French War. For the Royal Grant, Sir William and his heirs were to pay, on demand, an annual rent of two beaver skins.[8] To the north of the Kingsborough Patent, and running the whole length of it, was the Mayfield Patent, controlled by the Johnsons, but differing from Kingsborough in that its lots were for sale outright.[9] There is reason to believe that some of the tenants at Kingsborough also owned one or more lots on the Mayfield Patent.[10] To the east of Kingsborough lay the Sacandaga and Kayaderosseras Patents, both owned in part by the Johnsons.

On August 15, 1785, Colonel Guy Johnson, who with James Watts, Sir John's brother-in-law, served as Sir John's attorneys in submitting his Loyalist Claim, appeared before the Commissioners at London, and produced a paper "being an extract of the surveys of the Kingsborough Patent by which it appears that the first part was dated June 23rd, 1754 to Arent Stevens and others, and contained 20,000 acres with allowance. The other to James Stewart and others, dated May 27, 1755, containing

---

[5] Tryon County was renamed Montgomery County in 1784, and gradually was divided into smaller counties in later years.

[6] Sir William Johnson's will is printed in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson,* (Albany, The University of the State of New York, 1921-57), XII, 1062-76.

[7] Sir John Johnson's Loyalist Claim.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.* Affidavit of Guy Johnson.

[10] A John Cameron of Kingsborough called his farm in Upper Canada "Mayfield." Another of the same name called his Lancaster farm "Fairfield," probably from a settlement on the Royal Grant. Chew also inherited 200 acres on Mayfield from Sir William Johnson.

24,000 acres."[11] Colonel Guy states that on a subsequent survey in 1771 by Robert Picken, the contents of the Kingsborough Patent were found to be 50,000 acres and upwards.[12] Arent Stevens was Sir William's surveyor from 1738 until his death in 1758 and Robert Picken his surveyor from about 1767 until Sir William's death. During the Revolution, Picken was a commissary in the Indian Department under Guy Johnson.

It seems probable that Arent Stevens and the others served as "trustees" for Sir William Johnson, who paid for the patent. This would be in keeping with the custom of the time, for only two thousand acres were supposed to be granted to any one person. The use of "trustees" became very common, and *The Sir William Johnson Papers* abound with lists of names to be assigned to land purchases which Sir William and other great landlords desired.[13]

Miss Edith M. Fox, in *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley,* tells how "On a certain day in 1768, Johnson's overseer invited the 'patentees' for three of the Johnson patents to a 'frolic' at Tice's Tavern in Johnstown, where they were entertained by 'a roasted beef & as much punch as they could all drink . . .' One by one the trustees went upstairs to sign away their rights. Johnson's son, Sir John, made an affidavit that such a procedure 'was usual and necessary for obtaining Patents . . .' "[14] Miss Fox's assertion is amply documented from Sir William's Account Book, and Affidavits, and from the Peter Smith Papers in the Syracuse University Library. The present writer ruefully notes this custom, as three members of his own family appear as "trustees" for two patents. Had they not signed away their "rights" in some such manner, his patrimony might have been larger.

The affidavits of Guy Johnson, John Butler, Ebeneezer Jessup, William Smith, and Archibald MacDonell, — all attached to Sir John's Claim — give valuable details on the settlement of the Kingsborough Patent. For instance, William Smith, Chief Judge of New York, and, later, of Lower Canada, makes the observation that "Sir William proceeded, in his opinion, on a bad plan in forcing a Settlement, as he used to purchase Tenants and incur large expenses in settling them, and many of them afterwards abandoned their Farms." On the other hand, Colonel Guy states that "old settlers paid rents regularly. Not more than three moved away. In 1764, Sir William forgave those in arrears their debts and relet their lands at a more reasonable rate." Colonel Butler says that "It was supposed that after that time the tenants did not get in arrear. About 1767 or 1768, those who had settled from the beginning were able to pay their rents." He also adds that "he estimates that the clearing costs are 4 pounds per acre." Daniel Claus gives the information, largely borne out by the Rent Roll, that the patent was laid out in 100-acre lots.

---

[11] Sir John's Loyalist Claim.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Published by the State of New York. XII Volumes to date, and at least one more planned, plus an Index volume.

[14] Cornell University Press, 1949, 7 and 8.

As for Smith's assertion that Sir William "purchased his tenants," two cases are known to support his claim. In 1772, Sir William paid "Twenty Guineas £37" to buy Donald Fraser, who had become his tenant in 1769, out of Captain Daniel MacAlpin's company of the Second Battalion 60th (Royal American) Regiment.[15] This was undoubtedly in order to permit Fraser to give full time to cultivating his farm. Later, on May 18, 1776, in a letter to General Schuyler, who had expressed fears that the Highland tenants might get out of hand, Sir John wrote that this was unlikely, as he had invested £2000 in settling his tenants.[16]

The witnesses differed as to the number of settlers on the Kingsborough Patent. Colonel Guy says that the first settlers came in 1754. And, indeed, Lot 66 in the Western Allotment is known to have been leased in 1754 to Johannes Wert, though the lease has not survived. Perhaps it was burned by Sir William when he issued new leases in 1764.[17] By 1756, when Colonel Guy arrived at Johnson Hall, he said there were several settlers on the patent. In 1775, he thought, there were 150 tenants. Claus thought there were over 200 tenants. And Archibald MacDonell, who had a store at Johnstown, and should have known, since he managed the last and largest migration from Scotland to the Johnson estates, says there were 260 Highlanders on the Patent, who arrived in 1772, 1773 and 1774. He says further that "there were natives of the country settled on another part of the patent." Of the value of the land, Joseph Chew says "that he would not take less than 40 shillings per acre." The farther north from the Mohawk River, the less the value of the land. Thus land on the Mayfield Patent, just north of Kingsborough, was valued much lower.[18]

From the Rent Roll, it appears that many of the earlier settlers were Germans; some of them were of families who had migrated from the Palatinate as early as 1709. They had come north from the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys. Many had served under Sir William in the French War, and were enrolled in the Tryon County Militia on the eve of the Revolution. Members of some of these families served on opposite sides.[19] It should be said that not all Germans of the region were of early Palatinate families. Migration from Germany continued without interruption until the Revolution, and like the Scottish migrations, was resumed after the War.

There are also some English names on the Rent Roll. It is fair to assume that among these are some of the Yankees from Connecticut who, thirty families strong, came to Kingsborough with their minister from Litchfield in 1772.[20] The Reverend Richard Mosely had been fined £20 by the authorities of Connecticut for officiating at a marriage, with only a license from the Bishop of London whose authority the Colony of Connecticut did not recognize. Mr. Mosely therefore applied to Sir William Johnson for the living of Saint John's Church at Johnstown; he served there from 1772 until 1774, when he returned to England. The families who followed him from Litchfield are said to have settled within fifteen miles of him; some may have settled on the Kingsborough and Mayfield Patents. The New Englanders didn't really come into their own in the region until after the Revolution. Then many families came west to settle the confiscated lands that were sold by the New York Commissioners of Forfeiture and Sequestration.

---

[15] *Sir William Johnson Papers,* VIII, 628,630,731.

[16] American Archives, Fourth Series, Col. 644.

[17] Letter from Mr. Elmer Dorn of Johnstown, direct descendant of Johannes Wert.

[18] Sir John's Loyalist Claim; affidavits of Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus.

[19] Annual Reports of the New York State Historian, 1896, 1897. The frequency of the conjunction of the same Christian and family names often makes it impossible to determine who was on which side during the Revolution.

Next to the Germans, the largest group on the Kingsborough Patent were Scots who began to arrive immediately after the French War, and continued in increasing numbers until after the outbreak of the Revolution. The first Highlander of importance to become a tenant of Sir William was Lieutenant Hugh Fraser of Brightmony,[21] one of three officers of that name to serve in the Fraser Highlanders in Canada. After the reduction of the 78th Regiment in 1763, Hugh Fraser was introduced to Sir William by two gentlemen of New York, and, in 1764, brought over an unknown number of Scots, probably of his own clan, to be settled in New York Province. Probably most of the earlier Scots on the Rent Roll, like Donald MacGregor, Peter Finney, and John Fraser, were of this group. It is also probable that most of them had served in Hugh Fraser's regiment under General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham.[22] It is certain that he brought with him his thirteen-year-old brother-in-law, Simon McTavish, son of Lieutenant John McTavish, of Garthbeg in Inverness-shire, who became famous as the virtual head of the North West Company before his death at Montreal in 1804.[23] This, in itself, was a considerable contribution for Hugh Fraser to make to the history of British North America. But he did more. He was one of Sir William's tenants who did not remain on the Kingsborough Patent, although he appears to have kept his lease there. In 1769, he moved to Mapleton, between Hoosick and Bennington, New York, where he bought five hundred acres;[24] other members of his clan settled nearby, probably at his suggestion. Among them was Captain Simon Fraser, father of the explorer who gave his name to the Fraser River in British Columbia. He came in 1773 on the *Pearl* and died in the Albany gaol in January, 1779.[25]

---

[20] Cf. *A History of Fulton County,* by Washington Frothingham (Syracuse, 1892), 252 ff.

[21] See Rent Roll. Lot 123 E. He is named in McTavish's Will of 1804, printed in *Documents Relating to the North West Company* edited by W. S. Wallace (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1934). He died at Perth, Scotland, January 1814, aged 83.

[22] A Subsistence Roll of the 78th at Quebec, Aug. 23, 1763 has recently come to light in the P.R.O. (T. 1/422). Nearly every name on the Kingsborough Roll is here too. As Lieut. Hugh served in the 78th, it is likely that many other tenants had also served with him.

[23] *Sir William Johnson Papers,* IV, 802; V, 17-20.

[24] Loyalist Claim. P.R.O. AO 12/19; AO 12/90; AO 12/100; AO 12/109; AO 13/113; AO 13/68.

Hugh Fraser was commissioned in 1776 in the 84th Regiment (Royal Emigrants), but served only in New York and Rhode Island until 1780, when he and his family returned to Scotland. That he had been a man of some importance at Johnstown is shown by the fact that he became, in 1767, a member of St. Patrick's Lodge, O & F Masons, founded by Sir William Johnson.

In May, 1773, the Reverend Harry Munro, Rector of Saint Peter's Church, Albany, wrote Sir William to recommend seventeen Highland families, "in all Seventy souls, including women and children," who had recently arrived from Scotland with excellent credentials, for settlement on Johnson lands.[26] There appear to have been some difficulties in settling this group, for in May 1774, Joseph Chew drew up an affidavit from which it appears that Sir William had heard that they had made a prior commitment to Mr. Munro, to settle on his lands.[27] However, three leaders, Alexander Cameron, Peter Ferguson and Finlay Grant, would seem to have convinced Sir William that they were not at fault, for their names appear with several others who were to begin to pay rents in 1778, the usual five years of grace being accorded them.

While other small groups continued to arrive on the Kingsborough Patent, the largest and most interesting group arrived late in 1773, under the leadership of four gentlemen of the MacDonell Clan. Their story is well known in Canada, thanks to the pious zeal of W. L. Scott and John Graham Harkness.[28] But in the area where they first settled, the story is almost unknown. Even now, no one has explained just how this migration of some six hundred persons from the Highlands of Scotland was attracted to the Johnson lands. Since Scott asserts that Archibald MacDonell of the family of Leek was instrumental in bringing Sir William and his kinsmen together, it may be permitted to surmise that Lieutenant Hugh Fraser was somehow involved in this settlement scheme too. Archibald MacDonell's wife was a Fraser of the Ballindoun family.[29] Years later, in 1780, when Hugh and another MacDonell were trying to have their families exchanged, they wrote a joint letter to Governor Clinton of New York, promising to return to Scotland as soon as their families were reunited.[30] The association of the two families may be significant.

---

[25] See *Two Bennington-Born Explorers and Makers of Modern Canada* by John Spargo (Bradford, Vt., 1950), 87ff.

[26] *Sir William Johnson Papers*, XII, 1023.

[27] *Ibid.*, 1087. Munro had a patent of 2000 acres in what is now Washington Co., N.Y.

[28] See J. G. Harkness, *Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, a History*, (Oshawa, 1946); and W. L. Scott "The MacDonnells of Leek, Collachie, and Aberchalder" in *Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association for 1934-1935*, and "A U.E. Loyalist Family" in Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records*, XXXII, 1937.

[29] Scott, *op. cit.*, 9.

[30] *The Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York*, published by the State of New York (Albany, 1900), V, 361.

The MacDonell migration was led by three brothers and their cousin, John MacDonell of Scotus (Spanish John). The brothers were John (Leek), father of Archibald who planned the expedition with Sir William, Alexander (Aberchalder), and Allan (Collachie). In the same party was their brother-in-law, Ranald (Ardnabee) whose sister was the mother of Captain Simon Fraser who died at Albany.[31] The party sailed from Fort William, Scotland, in mid-September 1773 aboard the *Pearl.* Arriving in New York in October, they went almost at once to Albany, where they entered into negotiations for land with Sir William. Collachie was their spokesman, and his correspondence with Sir William shows an expert's hand at driving a bargain in land.[32] But by not means all the passengers on the *Pearl* settled on Kingsborough. Scotus, for instance, settled on the Schoharie Creek, south of the Mohawk, where he had 491 acres. [33] Others went on to settlements of Johnson and others along the Charlotte and Susquehanna Rivers. Probably still others, under another Allen MacDonell, settled near Lake Champlain or on the St. John's River.[34]

Most of the Johnson tenants, especially those on the Kingsborough Patent, were Loyalists, and found their way to Canada, either during or after the Revolution. Of the Loyalist claims, published in the 1904 Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, at least 232 are of Loyalists from Tryon County. 142 claim to have been settlers on Johnson lands who came to America between 1740 and 1775. Only sixteen state that they were born in America.[35] This, of course, is but a fraction of Loyalists from Tryon County who went to Canada; many Loyalists never filed claims, some were killed, and some are known to have gone to Lower Canada or the Maritime Provinces. Where enough information is given in the Loyalist claims, the ones from the Kingsborough Patent largely agree in their evidence with that given by Sir John's Rent Roll.

In a few cases, Loyalists state that they had been promised leases, but had not yet received them. This may explain the large number of names on the Rent Roll without any lot numbers assigned to them. The writing of leases on parchment must have been a lengthy process, entrusted to but few employees of Sir William and Sir John. The few leases known to have survived are lengthy and impressive documents, written in a fair secretarial hand, and sealed with a large wax seal. Some of these leases must have been taken to Canada; it would be useful

---

31. Scott, *op. cit.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Loyalist Claim of Scotus.

34. Cf. Letter, March 28, 1774 of General Haldimand to Allen McDonald (MacDonell?) re: vessels to transport his party across the lakes in Canada. *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1885 (Ottawa, 1886), 219. Also letter, June 28, 1774 from Sir William to Capt. John Donell (MacDonell?) at Cobus Kill. Mentions 40 Highland families then at Johnstown, and their great expense to him. Refers to Highlanders who went to Canada where they were scrapping with Capt. Gabriel Christie of the 60th. A Loyalist Allen MacDonell, merchant, settled at foot of Mt. Independence, near Lake Champlain.

35. *Report of the Ontario Public Archives, 1904* (Toronto, 1905).

to know how many now survive. In some cases, they might fill in information, missing from the Rent Roll.

After New York State confiscated Loyalist lands, the Johnson tenants who remained on their farms paid their annual rents to the State instead of to Sir John. Later, they were allowed to receive full title to their farms, upon payment of fourteen times the annual rental, usually £6.3 per hundred acres.[36] The writer knows of no farm on the Kingsborough Patent, now owned by the families of the original leasees. His family farm was held by the family from 1769 until about 1880; a few others were held longer by the descendants of Johnson tenants.

At Johnson Hall, Johnstown, there is a large ledger, bought by Sir William Johnson in 1774. In the ledger, one name to a page, are the names of 125 tenants, written in Colonel Guy Johnson's handwriting. Presumably, this book, miraculously salvaged from an "old paper drive" during the American Civil War, was to have been the master ledger of all Johnson tenants. Most of the names in the ledger, naturally enough, are also on Sir John's Rent Roll. But there are some others, including several who are identified as living on the Royal Grant. Also, there are a very few Highland names which do not appear on the Rent Roll. Perhaps Sir John's attorneys overlooked a few names when reconstructing the Rent Roll, partially from memory. Sir John's Rent Roll of Johnstown, for example, is almost certainly incomplete. It omits even Archibald MacDonell, who kept a store at Johnstown, and who says, in his affidavits to Sir John's Loyalist Claim, that he had paid no rent before he left. The 1904 Report of the Ontario Archives reveals the names of two or three Loyalists who say they lived within the village limits, but whose names do not appear on the Rent Roll. Nor do we find there the name of the Reverend John McKenna, Roman Catholic chaplain to the MacDonells, who, in his Loyalist Claim, states that he received a house and glebe of 100 acres from Sir William.[37] To date, the location of this glebe has not been determined although those of the Anglican and Lutheran churches are well known.

The writer hopes to publish biographical notes on all the tenants on the Kingsborough Patent and Johnstown. If any reader has information on the place of origin in Scotland or Germany of any tenant, or other biographical data, he would greatly appreciate knowing of it. It would seem, after so many years of friendly relations between Canada and the United States, and with the launching of the projected Biographical Centre at the University of Toronto, the time has come for co-operative research on both sides of the St. Lawrence River. For many of the persons whose names appear on this Rent Roll were to become the makers of British Canada.

---

36. Cf. The Rent Roll.

37. See "The Reverend John McKenna, Loyalist Chaplain" by the Reverend Edward Kelly, in the *Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1933-1934.* Father Kelly makes much of the Irish tenants of Sir William. It should be pointed out, however, that most of Sir William's Irish tenants were Protestants. The Scots were the Roman Catholics, by and large.

RENT ROLL OF

Tenants	No. Lots	Commct. of Rent		No. Acres	Rent Ann.
Peter Servos	400W	6 Jan.	1766	150	. 5
Martinus Waldorf	78W	25 Mar.	"	110	6.15
Johanis Wert	66W	25 Mar.	1769	100	6. 3
Johanis Doran	74W	1 Nov.	1769	100	6. 3
Andreas Snyder	67W	25 Mar.	1769	100	6. 3
David Jacocks	68W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Benjamin Biddle	60W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Johanis Albrant	75W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Adam Ruport	77W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Nicholas Shaver	73W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Jacob Seber	72W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Peter Boyce	71W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Johanis Alt	42W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Johanis Hartel	43W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Peter Fikes	70W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Nicholas Bradhour	64W	" "	"	100	6. 3
John Brader	79W	" "	"	100	6. 3
John Mitcham	69W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Edw. Foster	59W	" "	"	100	6. 3
William Phillips	W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Simon Clarke	95W	" "	"	100	6. 3
John Boyce	98W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Jeremy Boyce	145W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Johanis Harne	83W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Willm Lottridge	15W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Johan Evert Koghnot	16W	" "	"	100	6. 3
George Brounce	101W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Isaac Lawson	100W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Capt. Michl Byrne	76W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Robt. McIntire	135W	" "	"	100	6. 3
Robt. Adams Esq.	80E	" "	"	100	6. 3
John Farlinger	90E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Joseph Irwin	125E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Philip Pitet & Walliser	83E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Lodowick Putman	124E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Michl Gallinger	85E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Jacob Pickle	84E	" "	"	50	3. 1.6
In Hand	E	" "	"	50	3. 1.6
In Hand	82E	" "	"	100	6. 3
John Fraser	113E	" "	"	100	6. 3
In Hand	91E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Jonathin French	149W	" "	"	100	6. 3
In Hand	79W	" "	"	100	12. 6
Gilbert Tice	93E	25 Mar.	1776	100	30.
James Bennet	148E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Philip Hendk Klyne	95E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Geo. Fredk Sheap	E	" "	"	100	6. 3
George Ruport	E	" "	"	100	6. 3
Conrad Crutzenberger	E	25 Mar.	1769	100	6. 3
Conrad Smith	E	" "	"	100	6. 3

---

* In The Public Record Office AC 13/114 (Extract)

KINGSBOROUGH *

Tenants	No. Lots	Commct. of Rent	No. Acres	Rent Ann.
Robt Robertson		25 Sepr. 1780	200	12. 6
George Mordiff		" " "	100	6. 3
John Pescod		" " "	300	18. 9
Willm Russel		" " "	100	6. 3
Peter Crouse		" " "	100	6. 3
John Saver		" " "	100	6. 3
Adam [Fikes?]		" " "	100	6. 3
Caleb Peck		" " "	100	6. 3
George Bender	W: alt.	" " "	100	6. 3
John Mason		" " "	100	6. 3
William Carrol	32 & 33	" " "	200	12. 6
Andw Milross		" " "	200	12. 6
Duncan McArthur		" " "	100	6. 3
John Waite		" " "	150	9. 3
William Parker		" " "	100	6. 3
Hendk Fikes		" " "	100	6. 3
Jacob Koghnot		" " "	100	6. 3
Voorhes		" " "	100	6. 3
Hendk Vroman		25 Mar. "	100	6. 3
William Cadman	8 & 32	" " "	200	12. 6
Lamfair		" " "	100	6. 3
James Delamater		" " "	100	6. 3
				175. 4.0
Willm Urquart		25 Sepr. 1778	100	6. 3
Donald McKay		" " "	100	6. 3
Thomas Ross Taylor		" " "	100	6. 3
Norman McLeod		" " "	100	6. 3
Thomas Graham		" " "	100	6. 3
Jn Murchason Senr.		" " "	100	6. 3
Angus McKay		" " "	100	6. 3
Duncan Murchason		" " "	100	6. 3
Alexr McPherson		" " "	100	6. 3
Murdk McPherson		" " "	100	6. 3
Alexr Chisholm		25 Sepr. 1778	100	6. 3
Alexr Ferguson		" " "	100	6. 3
Jn Mcafee Cameron		" " "	100	6. 3
Alexr Cameron		" " "	100	6. 3
Thomas White Ross		" " "	100	6. 3
Willm McPherson		" " "	100	6. 3
Peter Grant		" " "	100	6. 3
Donald Cameron		" " "	100	6. 3
John Cameron		" " "	100	6. 3
Hugh Munro		" " "	100	6. 3
Donald McLean		" " "	100	6. 3
Donald Ross		" " "	100	6. 3
Thos. Ross Bane		" " "	100	6. 3
Finlay Ross		" " "	100	6. 3
Malcolm McLeod		" " "	100	6. 3
Angus Cameron		25 Sepr. 1778	100	6. 3
Allan Grant		" " "	100	6. 3

Tenants	No. Lots	Commct.	of	Rent	No. Acres	Rent Ann.
G. A. Dachstedder	E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Hugh Fraser	123E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Simon Shreidar	60W	"	"	1770	100	6. 3
George Shink	63W	"	"	"	100	6. 3
James Cotter	107E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Willm Fraser	122E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
John Freil	114E	25	Mar.	1771	100	6. 3
Edward Connor	189E	"	"	"	40	2. 9.2
Jacob Sheets	190E	"	"	"	81	4.18.1
Michl Kermer [Carman]	191E	"	"	"	81	4.18.1
Frdk Waggoner	115E	"	"	1772	100	6. 3
Jacob Creichof	112E	"	"	"	96	5.18.1
In Hand	81E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Jacob Appleby)		(			100	6. 3
Hannis Hurligh) Stone Arabia		(1	Apr.	1772	100	6. 3
Timothy McCarty)		(			100	30. 0
Hansury Hough) Sacandaga		(29	Sepr.	1776	100	8. 3
Christn Lamb	71W	21	Nov.	1776	100	10. 3
Donald Fraser	111W*	25	Mar.	1773	90	5.10.8
Dr. Wm. Adams	86E	25	Mar.	1773	50	3. 1.6
Thomas Morgan	131E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Christn Wert	65W	"	"	1774	100	6. 3
Peter Fenney &)	104W	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Donald McGregor)						
Timothy Murphy	99W	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Peter Young	125E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
George Kass	120E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Michl Harps	167E	"	"	"	75	4.12.3
Lt. Col. Jn Butler	92E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
George Shirtenkirk	94E	"	"	"	50	3. 1.6
Maths Lynck	58E	25	Sepr.	"	100	6. 3
James Peck	132E	25	Mar.	1775	100	6. 3
John Brachan	133E	"	"	"	122	7.10.1
John McIntire	136E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
James Bennet	147E	"	"	"	48	2.19.1
Joseph Haynes	157E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Andrew Young	152E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Amos French	150W	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Crawley & Hazard	147W	"	"	"	100	6. 3
John Leonardson	W	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Egan & Matice	108E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Hendk Huff	61W	"	"	"	100	6. 3
Michl Quin		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Jacob Waggoner		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Hendrick Hone		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Peter Servos Junr.		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Lucas Vader		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Patrick McGra		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Arent Vanysler		"	"	"	100	6. 3
David Tap		"	"	"	100	6. 3
James Crosset		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Benjn Crosset		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Annanias Archer		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Christn Scheik		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Willm Shoman		"	"	"	50	8. 3
Jacob Meyer	44E	"	"	"	100	6. 3
John Browser		"	"	"		16. 0
Wm. Crawley		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Jonathan Benson		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Hansury Creitz		"	"	"	100	6. 3
John Fennel		"	"	"	100	6. 3
John Brothers		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Philip Phillips		"	"	"	100	6. 3
Michl Nicholy		"	"	"	100	6. 3

*His deed survives. His farm was on the Eastern Allotment.

Tenants	No. Lots	Commnt.	of	Rent	No. Acres	Rent Ann.
Hugh McKinzie		”	”	”	100	6. 3
						172. 4.0
John McDonell		25	Sepr.	1780	200	12. 6
Allen McDonell		”	”	”	200	12. 6
Alexr McDonell		25	Sepr.	1780	200	12. 6
John McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Murdoch McLean		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Murdoch McLeod		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McGregor		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Willm Cameron		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McGillis		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Alexr McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McGillis		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Roderick McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald Grant		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Archd Grant		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Peter Furguson		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Randel McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
William McLeod		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McIntire		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Alexr Chisholm		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McIntosh		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Randel McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Angus McDonell	55	”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Duncan Grant		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Alexr Grant		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Duncan McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Alexr McDonell		”	”	”	123	7.10
Allen McDonell		”	”	”	123	7.10
Rodk McDonell		”	”	”	123	7.10
Duncan McIntire		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McMullan		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Alexr Kenneday		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Hugh McGregor		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John Haggart		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John Anderson		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Duncan McMartin		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Peter McMartin		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McBean		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Duncan Anderson		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Duncan McGregor		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McFergus		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Malcolm McMartin		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Jn. McMartin		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Hugh Cameron		25	Sepr.	1780	100	6. 3
John McCollins		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Kenneth McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McLennen		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McLeland		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Donald McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Archd McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John Malcolm		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Allen McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Angus Grant		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Jn McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
Duncan McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
John McDonell		”	”	”	100	6. 3
						403.16.0

Tenants	No. Lots	Commct. of Rent		No. Acres	Rent Ann.
John McGruer		25 Mar.	1775	100	6. 3
Adam Plank		" "	"	100	6. 3
Michl Swope		" "	"	100	6. 3
					804. 3.6
Willm Lord		25 Sepr.	1778	100	6. 3
Willm Carr		" "	"	100	6. 3
John Jacocks		" "	"	100	6. 3
David McCune		" "	"	100	6. 3
Thomas Allen		" "	"	100	6. 3
Willm Kenneday		" "	"	100	6. 3
John Christy		" "	"	100	6. 3
Isaac Davis		" "	"	100	6. 3
John Davis		" "	"	100	6. 3
Duncan McLeland		" "	"	100	6. 3
John Murchason Junr.		" "	"	100	6. 3
Lochlin McPherson		" "	"	50	3. 1.6
John Grant		" "	"	100	6. 3
Finlay Grant		" "	"	100	6. 3
Donald Grant		" "	"	100	6. 3
Willm Chisholm		" "	"	100	6. 3
					95. 6.6
Derick Putman			1779	100	6. 3
Daniel Fikes			"	100	6. 3
Van Brockle			"	100	6. 3
					18. 8

ROLL OF THE TENANTS OF JOHNSTOWN

Robert Adams, Esq.	Merchant	Sepr 25, 1770	.5
Samuel Street	Cordwainer	Mar 25, 1773	7.-
Wm. R. Crawford	Sadler	May 1, 1773	6.-
Michl Klyne	Gunsmith		6.-
James Bennet	Carpenter		6.-
Peter Jost	Tanner		7.-
Gilbert Tice	Innkeeper		25.-
Christian Scheaks	Blacksmith		8.-
Nicholas Hylliard	Taylor		6.-
Bryan Lefferty	Attorney		6.-
Robert Picken	Surveyor		12.-
William Adams	Physician		12.-
Daniel Campbell			6.-
Samuel Street			7.-
Jacob Pickle	Miller		6.-
New House			6.-
Parsonage House			20.-
			146.5

Total Amount of Annual rent from the year 1776 to 1778 inclusive,

Except the Kingsland Tenants		1476.17.6
Ditto	1778	267.10.6
Ditto	1779	18.19
Ditto	1780	579. 0.0
	Total Rent £	2342. 7.0

& OTHER DETATCHED PLACES

John Looney	Shoemaker	1.-
John Koghnot	Tanner	5.-
Nathl Hillyard	Innholder	30.-
Willm Philips	Grist Mill at Johnstown	105.-
A Grist & Saw Mill near Mayfield		100.-
Saw Mill near Town		60.-
Farm at Fort Johnson exclusive of Mansion House) Stables, Gardens, & Pasturage)		130.-
Danl Prentis)	Farms opposite Fort Johnson	5.3
Jacob Snocks)	on Lease of Three Lives	5.3
Nathl Keys)		5.3
James Bennet at Caghnawaga)		30. -
Alex White Sheriff)	Tenants at Will	30. -
James Wallace)		20. -
Kingsland Tenants in May 1776 amounted to upwards of One Hundred upon the different divisions & Numbers were engaged to Settle		
		526.9.0

JOHN JOHNSON

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The sixty-first annual meeting was held on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, June 23, 24 and 25, 1960, in picturesque Preston, the convention headquarters being the Kress Mineral Springs Hotel. Since the Waterloo County Historical Society, hosts at the meetings, had done an excellent job with the local arrangements, the entire programme moved along with smooth efficiency and despatch. Their hand was also revealed in the number of local members who attended the various functions and in the exceedingly good publicity accorded the meetings by the local press and the radio and television stations. Only the weather failed to respond to their direction, and on Thursday evening members were treated to an unscheduled violent storm and flash flood which they might view from the comforting shelter of the Kress Hotel—at least those members who were not so unfortunate as to have been caught outside. But not even the storm dampened the lively enthusiasm or materially reduced the attendance at the meetings.

In addition to its many other services, the Waterloo County Historical Society was able to provide its guests with an imposing array of colourful and useful booklets. The "kit" which members received included copies of "The Trail of the Conestoga", prepared and illustrated by Selwyn Dewdney to commemorate the Waterloo County Centennial in 1852; "Kitchener Centennial, 1854-1954", prepared by the Centennial Booklet Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. A. E. Broome; "A Guide to Waterloo County", prepared by the Waterloo Trust and Savings Company; "Waterloo Centennial, 1857-1957, Jubilee Band and Folk Festival", an official souvenir programme; and the folder, "The City of Kitchener, Ontario, Canada", issued by the Kitchener Chamber of Commerce. Even the place mats at the annual dinner on Friday evening were printed with an account of "Preston in Early Canada", especially prepared for the occasion by Mrs. Jennie F. Cowan. Copies of the annual reports of the Waterloo County Historical Society and the publications of the Ontario Historical Society were available for members to examine or purchase.

A number of walks and tours were arranged in order to acquaint the visitors with the historic, scenic and culinary features of Waterloo County. Following Thursday afternoon's business meeting members were taken on a short stroll in the vicinity of the Kress Hotel during which their attention was drawn to landmarks like the flour mill of S. J. Cherry and Sons on the site of John Erb's pioneer mill of 1807, the right of way of the Preston and Berlin Railway, Mrs. Cherry's home, a fine example of the Greek Revival style of architecture, and Shantz's Foundry on the site of Jacob Beck's establishment. This brief tour, supplemented by a showing of slides of places of historic and artistic significance later that evening, proved an admirable introduction and foretaste of the bus tour on the following day. Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz and Andrew Taylor showed and described the Pioneer Memorial Tower, Woodside, Bridgeport, the covered bridge at West Montrose, Waterloo's first school, Joseph Snider's three-storey 1813 home at Kitchener, the Ontario Pioneer Community project and Homer Watson's home at Doon, the old mill at Blair and Adam Ferrie's mill near Doon.

The Friday bus tour gave members the opportunity of seeing an amazing number of interesting places and buildings over a considerable portion of Waterloo County. From the hotel the buses first proceeded to the Pioneer Memorial Tower, built to commemorate the original founders of the county and set upon a magnificent site on a high cliff overlooking the Grand River valley, then along the east bank of the river past homes and institutional buildings to Kitchener, where the buses stopped at the Berkley Inn to allow the visitors to partake of a delicious lunch of specially-prepared Waterloo County delicacies. After lunch the tour resumed, visiting and stopping at Woodside, the boyhood home of William Lyon Mackenzie King and now a national historic park, then through the picturesque old villages of Bridgeport, Bloomingdale, Winterbourne and Conestoga to West Montrose where there was a brief pause to examine the famous covered bridge over the Grand River. On the return journey the buses travelled once more through Conestoga, past neat farms and woodlots to St. Jacobs, then through the cities of Waterloo and Kitchener to Doon and the Ontario Pioneer Community where members were able to examine the grounds, the new museum building, and the large collection of interesting exhibits. The last lap of the journey took the members past Homer Watson Memorial Park, the village of Blair, the picturesque ruins of the Ferrie mill, and back to the Kress Hotel.

On Saturday the members strolled into Preston to see a plaque to John Erb, founder of Preston, unveiled on the grounds of the Municipal Building before a group of dignitaries which included the district's members of Parliament and the provincial legislature, W. Anderson and R. Myers, Warden J. Sanderson of Waterloo County, W. H. Cranston, Chairman of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, Mr. W. C. Barrie, president of the Waterloo County Historical Society. Rev. A. Waters gave the invocation and the plaque was unveiled by Mr. Frank Pattinson of Preston, a great-great-grandson of John Erb. For Saturday evening a bus tour of the towns of Preston and Galt was arranged, followed by a reception at the farm home of Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Barrie. Members who stayed over till Sunday were invited to the morning service at the First Mennonite Church in Kitchener and to attend at the unveiling of another plaque by the provincial Historic Sites Board, this time to the pioneer Bishop Benjamin Eby.

In keeping with the scholarly traditions of the Ontario Historical Society the programme included a number of interesting and informative papers and addresses. On Thursday evening Miss Camilla Coumans, a member of the staff of the Kitchener-Waterloo Collegiate and Vocational School, presented an illustrated talk on the subject of "Grave Markers of Ornamental Iron". She explained that she has found these unusual markers in German Catholic cemeteries and churches of the period 1870-1920 in certain sections of Grey, Huron and Waterloo counties. They were made by local blacksmiths following traditions that apparently originated in Alsace-Lorraine or Bavaria. One veteran blacksmith who now lives in Elmira told Miss Coumans that some forty years ago he built the fourteen-foot cross which now adorns the steeple at St. Agatha, receiving $135 for the three-weeks' task. He still manufactures markers occasionally, but today he uses acetylene welding instead of rivets and the steel strips are thinner than in the old days. Each cross is designed for the particular piece, and consists of lacy scrollwork or whirls. Often the inscriptions were carved on strips of marble which were set into the horizontal arms of the cross, or engraved upon heart-shaped leaden markers fastened to the centre of the cross. The grave markers vary from four to seven feet in height and are usually set in concrete to a depth of eighteen inches; but the crosses erected on church steeples are much larger. Besides the many slides Miss Coumans brought along two iron crosses to illustrate her address.

Miss Mary Farmer, of the staff of the Hamilton Public Library, presented a paper at the Friday morning meeting that held great interest for students of Waterloo County's past. Her subject, "The Preston and Berlin Railway" was based upon original letters and documents from the collection of Ferrie Papers in the Hamilton Public Library. This 10½ mile long railway was planned in 1855 by a group of Hamilton businessmen and was supported by the communities of Hamilton and Berlin which issued municipal debentures for £50,000 and £10,000 respectively to assist the company with construction of the road. The contract was awarded to a Hamilton firm but funds were insufficient to meet all costs so that payments for rights of way remained in arrears and maintenance work was neglected. To aggravate the situation, the Berlin ratepayers refused to supply debentures in a form which the railway could use to meet its obligations, but eventually, after much pressure, the town of Berlin was compelled to go through with the original agreement. When the line was completed (1857) it was leased for operation to the Great Western Railway, but the company continued to be responsible for the deficits, and as the line proved unprofitable this meant a further drain upon the company's slender resources. When after only a few months an ice jam and flood removed the bridge over the Grand River near Preston, the line was abandoned, though today the Canadian National Railways operate over part of the route. In 1873 when the province assumed or forgave a great many obligations of Ontario municipalities, both Hamilton and Berlin were able to recover their investments in this ill-fated, short-lived enterprise. After reading her paper Miss Farmer showed the audience a most interesting and unusual relic of the Preston and Berlin Railway Company—one of repudiated and cancelled Berlin debentures.

At the Saturday morning meeting Mrs. T. D. Cowan of Galt displayed and described a collection of Waterloo County family bibles and explained their historical significance. They bring to mind a type of home and traditions which are fast disappearing from Ontario, where Bible reading was a daily practice and handicrafts and rural husbandry a way of life. The more than twenty Bibles arrayed about the table provide concrete illustration of the extremely varied pattern of Waterloo County settlement. Among them are German Bibles of 1610 from Wittenburg, Saxony, another printed by Christopher Sauer at Germantown, Pennsylvania at the time of the Revolutionary War, the family Bible of Benjamin Eby, 1778, from Basel, Switzerland, a Dutch Bible of 1786 from Amsterdam, Scottish bibles from Edinburgh, one dating perhaps from the 1780's, another from the years 1811-14 with elaborate commentaries and elegant engravings, and even two Gaelic bibles of 1821 and 1880. But while these bibles show the differing strands that went to make up Waterloo County's people, they also demonstrate the essential bond of unity and charity to be found in these pioneers, which makes them extend the hand of fellowship and hospitality to visitors, students and scholars who come seeking their aid.

Two other papers were presented at the meeting, one being "The Kingsborough Patent—Loyal Antecedents in Colonial New York" by Rev. Duncan Fraser, the other by Miss Alison Smith, on "John Strachan and Early Upper Canada, 1799-1814". By a curious coincidence neither author was able to attend the meetings, the Rev. Duncan Fraser since he had just moved to Johnstown, New York, after retiring from the ministry, and Miss Smith because she was to be married in two days' time. In the unavoidable absence of the authors, however, the two papers were read by Dr. Morris Zaslow and by Professor J. M. S. Careless. Both proved very interesting as well as informative, and since they are of regional rather than purely local appeal they are published in this number on pages 176 to 189, and 159 to 173.

The Friday evening annual dinner meeting at the Kress Hotel was attended by more than 150 members and guests and featured the address of Mr. William H. Cranston, Chairman of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario. Following the meal Dr. Zaslow announced that the Canadian Historical Association at its meeting in Kingston two weeks earlier had honoured the Ontario Historical Society with a certificate for its work in the field of local history. James Sanderson, Reeve of Preston and Warden of Waterloo County, formally greeted the Society on behalf of the town and the county, and the speaker was introduced by Mr. Andrew Taylor as the grandson and great-grandson of Galt and North Dumfries pioneers. Mr. Cranston presented his address, "On The

Importance of Publicizing Ontario's History", which appears on pages 201 to 208 of this number. The meeting was closed by Mr. David McFall who expressed the thanks of the audience for Mr. Cranston's stimulating and thoughtful address.

Business meetings are an inevitable portion of every annual meeting, and this year's programme included two very important business sessions, one on Thursday afternoon, the other on Saturday afternoon. The first saw the meetings launched with words of welcome to delegates and members from the host society expressed by Mr. W. C. Barrie, President of the Waterloo County Historical Society. Following a motion that the minutes of the last annual meeting be taken as read, the chairman and president Professor Careless reported that the Executive Committee (as requested by a resolution of the last annual meeting) had discussed the question of reconstructing Old Fort Rouille in Exhibition Park, Toronto, with various municipal bodies and organizations, and these were still considering the matter. It was reported that during the past year the Society had lost the following valued members through death: Dr. Malcolm Wallace, Dr. Louis Blake Duff, Mr. Frederick S. Challener, R.C.A., Dr. George F. Macdonald, Rev. F. J. Nelligan, S.J., Mr. F. S. Quirk, and Mr. David J. Rankin, Q.C. Three committees were then appointed—a Nominating Committee, of Dr. G. W. Spragge, Mr. Leslie R. Gray, Mrs. Mabel Warner and Mrs. Gordon Conant; a Resolutions Committee, of Mr. Andrew Taylor, Mr. David McFall, Mr. F. E. Paige, Mr. Saunders, and Miss Mabel Stewart; and a Courtesy Committee, of Dr. M. Zaslow, Miss Kaye McFarland, and Mrs. D. B. Shutt.

The principal business of the meeting was the explanation and discussion of the lengthy group of amendments to the Constitution of the Ontario Historical Society, as noted in the last issue of *Ontario History* (Volume 52, Number 2, June 1960, pages 125-27.) Professor Careless explained that the Executive Committee had long felt the need to reorganize the structure of the Society in order to improve its operations and make it conform better to its present functions, and that the amendments were designed to that end. During the past year, for example, it had proved extremely useful to set up special committees of a new kind unknown to the Constitution. These committees—on Organization, New Societies, Finance and Publicity—had as their chairmen members of the Executive Committee but also drew upon members outside the executive to lend their time and experience to the work. In this way the executive was able to utilize the services of valuable members, and the committees could act as a liaison between the Society's officers and the membership. Then again, the Council lacks the continuity and flexibility to carry out effectively the very important functions allotted it under the present Constitution. The main purpose of the present changes is to alter the structure of the Society so as to recognize the Executive Committee as the ruling administrative body. Most of the proposed amendments follow from this major decision.

Mr. McFall, who was the chairman of the Special Committee on Organization which prepared the amendments, then commented on the proposed changes, noted that the amendments as printed in *Ontario History* should have deleted the phrase "and Honorary Vice Presidents" from section 14 and moved the acceptance of this change. Dr. Spragge raised the point that under the present constitution section 12 sets a quorum of five officers for meetings of the Executive Committee, a provision at variance with the rulings of the Corporations Act of the province on this matter. After some discussion it was moved that the phrase "5" should be deleted from the relevant sentence in section 12 and replaced with the words "the minimum provided by the Corporations Act." Dr. Spragge also moved that the wording of the paragraph of section 21 on "Membership" be changed for the sake of clarity, to read as follows: "The Museums Section shall be composed of members of the Society who have paid a subscription fee to the Newsletter, together with one representative from each of the following: a museum holding a corporate membership in the Society, an affiliated society which operates a museum, a museum operated by the governments of Ontario or Canada". These three amendments to sections 12, 14 and 21 having been accepted, the motion that the amendments to the constitution as printed and as amended at the meeting be adopted was then carried. A further motion, that the new amendments should come into effect on July 1, 1960, was also carried and the meeting adjourned.

The Saturday afternoon business meeting dealt with the reports of committees, resolutions and election of officers. The Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, presented her report as follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT

> Mr. President and Members of The Ontario Historical Society, I present for your approval the financial statements for the year 1959 as printed in ONTARIO HISTORY, Volume LII, No. 2, pp. 128, 129, and 130. These statements were examined by the Finance Committee, convened by Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz, before they were audited by the firm of Thorne, Mulholland, Howson and McPherson.
>
> In 1958, the unusually high surplus amounted to $1,623.87. In 1959, this was reduced to $884.07.
>
> By government request, a greater portion of the grant was spent on the publishing of ONTARIO HISTORY, thus enabling the Editor, Professor Zaslow, to increase the content and to use more illustrative material.
>
> Income from the sale of back numbers of ONTARIO HISTORY amounted to $646.13 in 1958 but dropped to $233.88 in 1959. Volumes X and XI, which have been out of print for several years, have been reprinted. All members might consider purchasing them and might stir up interest in their local libraries for the acquisition of any of the back numbers which are lacking. Only by means of a rapid turnover will it be possible to reprint the twelve annual and four quarterly numbers now out of stock.
>
> Income from the sale of the Ontario series of the Champlain Society fell from $326.80 in 1958 to $142.64 in 1959. Although our price to members is

only $3.50, these volumes are valued at several times that amount. Half of the five hundred copies purchased are still available.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

A Membership Committee, convened by Mr. John M. Gray, prepared a mimeographed request which was mailed with this year's first issue of ONTARIO HISTORY, asking for the names of one or two prospective members. The returns were most discouraging. Only 64 names were submitted. In a society the size of ours, a list of 1,000 prospects is not too many. Apparently, the incoming Executive will be faced with the problem of increasing the membership, without the aid of the members at large.

The membership for 1959 consisted of 118 libraries, 55 historical societies, 6 museums, 11 miscellaneous corporate members, 8 life members, 3 sustaining members, and 580 annual members—a total of 781. Although 52 new members were enrolled, the Society suffered the loss of 72 members by death, resignation, or default. However, there are already 805 paid-up members for 1960.

To aid new historical groups, a New Societies Committee was formed under the convenership of Miss Mary Farmer. Their main activity was the framing of a model constitution suited to the purposes of a local society.

An Organization Committee, convened by Mr. David A. McFall, drew up the amendments to the Constitution of the Ontario Society After consideration by the Executive Committee, this was printed in Volume LII, No 2 of ONTARIO HISTORY, as a notice of a motion to be made at this Annual Meeting.

Professor Careless began his President's Report by thanking the members of the Executive Committee for making his work possible, and also the members of the Convention, Organization, New Societies, Membership, Finance, Publications, Junior History Committees and the Museum Section. He anticipated that the reorganization of the Society through the new amendments to the Constitution would produce effective results. He announced with regret that owing to his present duties as Chairman of the Department of History at the University of Toronto and those of the immediately foreseeable future it was impossible for him to continue as president in the coming year. Looking ahead, he stressed the Society's need for more funds to undertake a more effective programme, but he also observed that further government aid cannot be expected until the Society can prove to the province what it can do. The first and foremost sign of vigour would be an increased membership. The present membership is shockingly small when the vast size of the province is taken into account. In many larger centres the Society's appeal is limited by the transience of the population as a whole. In smaller centres this is less the case, but there the danger is that those persons who are historically-minded will come together only to close ranks and indulge in mere ancestor worship. The Society should broaden its appeal and widen the base of its support, provide useful service to the whole community, and impart to the people at large their private sense of responsibility for maintaining our heritage. Only then will the Society be in a position to appeal to the province for the assistance which will enable it to operate a permanent office, a full-time secretary, a field representative to journey about the province helping established local societies and organizing new ones, and also the means to increase our publications in the field of Ontario history, to settle the Society's library problem, and to carry on its work in co-operation and consultation with other historically-minded organizations.

Mr. John M. Gray then reported upon the work of the Membership Committee. He announced that a circular letter calling for the names of good prospective members had been prepared and mailed out to the membership in a recent issue of *Ontario History* and that a more up-to-date and eye-catching membership application form had been prepared, copies of which were on hand for inspection by members. Measures are being taken to have the membership forms displayed by museums, historical societies and by a mail campaign.

Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz, convener of the Finance Committee, reported that his committee had discussed a number of problems and recommended to the Executive Committee that prepaid memberships should be accepted for a period not in excess of three years and that the honorarium of the Secretary-Treasurer be increased.

Dr. Morris Zaslow, reporting on Publications, announced that during the past year volumes X and XI of the Papers and Records had been reprinted and could now be secured from the Secretary, at 27 Surrey Place. Following a pilot project to devise the most feasible sort of index and prepare an estimate of the cost of indexing the first fifty volumes of the Papers and Records and *Ontario History,* Mr. John Kenyon was retained to prepare index cards of the contents of Volumes I to XXVII of the Papers and Records. *Ontario History* has been appearing on schedule, its size reflecting the amount of worthwhile material that comes to hand. The quarterly's aim is to gain the respect and confidence of scholars by the calibre of the material it publishes and at the same time to continue to offer a place for the work of the serious amateur historian. Though the papers from amateurs often require a good deal of editorial aid, the editor takes pride in having been able to offer all types of historian the opportunity of seeing their work in print. He went on to report that since he was leaving Canada for the coming year to study in England on a Nuffield Foundation Fellowship he would have to give up the editorship after the next number, Volume 52, Number 3. He had made arrangements, with the approval of the President, to secure as his successor Dr. John S. Moir, of the Department of History, Carleton University, Ottawa. To ease the work of the editor it has been arranged that the magazine will be mailed to members directly from the printer's office, and it is hoped that persons in Toronto will take over the tasks of preparing the Book Notes Section and making the necessary arrangements for securing the annual review of archaeological work in Ontario. He appealed to the members to do their part in helping the new editor by providing him with a sizeable flow of articles and news items for publication.

Dr. A. Hardy Hill presented a report on the progress of the Junior

Historian Movement during the past year. He thanked Mr. James Lovekin for his assistance with the questionnaire during Dr. Hill's absence in Europe. The questionnaires were ready in May but in view of the lateness in the school year it was decided not to have them mailed until September during the new school year. The 3,000 questionnaires are to be sent to every secondary school in the province and to a cross-section of the primary schools. Along with each will go a letter from the Department of Education extending its support to the undertaking, another from the president of the Ontario Historical Society, and a sample copy of the "Yorker"—the junior history magazine of New York State—by way of indicating the sort of periodical which might be published to serve a full-scale, province-wide junior movement. He thanked Mr. R. B. Cowan of the *Toronto Daily Star* and the Atkinson Foundation for their grant to cover the expenses—approximately $2,000—of the questionnaire. He also urged that some thought be given to preparing county histories and other studies in local history for the use of schools and juniors, in line with the appeal contained in Mr. Cranston's address during the annual dinner.

Miss Kaye McFarland presented a full report on the activities of the large and important Museums Section during the past year which is printed in full in this number, pages 173 to 175.

Mr. Leslie R. Gray reported on the progress of the microfilming project of the Genealogical Society of Salt Lake City which the Ontario Historical Society is sponsoring in this province and which is providing the Ontario Archives with a copy of all materials filmed. During the past year the work has been turned over to Canadian cameramen of the London Microfilm Company but the Genealogical Society continues to bear the expense. The filming of land records down to 1875 has been completed and the microfilms deposited in the Ontario Archives should prove a tremendous help to students interested in genealogical and other subjects. The municipal records from Windsor and York County have now been completed and it is intended to move next to the Ottawa district. Most churches have consented to allow their records to be filmed though a few refuse to do so. Some private records have also been filmed, including, for example, the papers of Rev. William Proudfoot which amount to between 2,000 and 3,000 individual documents and letters from the period 1834-1852. Mr. Gray has prepared an index of persons and areas mentioned in the Proudfoot Papers and intends to place copies in a number of institutions, including the Ontario Archives.

Professor Richard A. Preston suggested that Eastern Ontario should be kept in mind as a site for the 1962 annual meeting. He reported that interest in local history has been greatly stimulated there by the reconstruction work in connection with the St. Lawrence Seaway and in view of the Upper Canada Village being open by that time he felt that Morrisburg would offer an ideal locale for the meetings.

The report of the Courtesy Committee was then presented by Dr. Zaslow, as follows:

Mr. President, your Courtesy Committee begs to report as follows:

That the Secretary be requested to convey the thanks of the members of The Ontario Historical Society to the following persons and institutions for assisting the work of the Society over the past year and for contributing to the success of this Annual Meeting—

1. To the Government of the Province of Ontario for the generous annual grant to the Society, tendered through the Department of Travel and Publicity.

2. To the Department of Education for allowing the Society full use of the facilities at 27 Surrey Place, Toronto, as its headquarters, and to the Community Programs Branch for innumerable kind and neighbourly acts.

3. To Mr. R. B. Cowan of the Toronto Daily Star and the Atkinson Foundation for generously underwriting the cost of the junior-history questionnaire being prepared for circulation to 3,000 Ontario schools.

4. To the members of the Executive Committee for their conscientious stewardship over the affairs of the Society during the past year.

5. To the Waterloo Historical Society for acting as our hosts and for arranging to furnish those in attendance with an excellent collection of publications, particularly the brief history, "Preston in Early Canada", which was prepared especially for the occasion by Mrs. T. D. Cowan.

6. To the members of the Waterloo Historical Society, who, acting as individuals or in committee, made the necessary local arrangements, looked after the registration and publicity, and in every way served to organize and direct the programme.

7. To Mr. Preston Graham and the Staff of the Kress Mineral Springs Hotel for extending their hospitality to the sessions of the Annual Meeting and for providing a friendly, congenial atmosphere that helped to make this happy meeting such a success.

8. To Miss Camilla Coumans, Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz, Mr. Andrew W. Taylor, Miss Mary Farmer, and Mrs. T. D. Cowan for preparing and presenting excellent illustrated lectures and papers for our instruction and pleasure; to Rev. Duncan Fraser and Miss Alison Smith for preparing papers, read to you by Dr. Morris Zaslow and Professor J. M. S. Careless, in the unavoidable absence of the authors.

9. To Mr. William Cranston for his friendly and inspiring address at the Society's Annual Dinner.

10. To Mr. and Mrs. Barrie for their warm welcome to us at their home during the twilight tour, on Saturday, and for making their home available for a meeting of the officers of the Museums Section.

11. To Bishop Derstine and the congregation of the First Mennonite Church, Kitchener, for their most gracious invitation to attend their Sunday morning service.

12. To Mr. W. C. Barrie and Warden J. Sanderson for their kind words of welcome to the members on behalf of the host society and of the municipal and county authorities.

13. To the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario for arranging the unveiling of the plaques to John Erb, founder of Preston, and to Bishop Benjamin Eby, in conjunction with these meetings.

14. To Messrs. Andrew W. Taylor, W. H. E. Schmalz, and Reuben Oberholtzer for organizing and managing the tours of scenic and historic interest which added so much to our enjoyment.

15. To Radio Station C.F.T.J., Galt; C.K.K.W. and C.K.C.W., Kitchener;

C.J.O.Y., Guelph; television station, C.K.C.O -T.V., Kitchener; the Preston Times; the Evening Reporter, Galt; the Kitchener-Waterloo Record; and other papers for favouring the meetings with generous publicity.

Mr. Andrew Taylor then presented the report of the Resolutions Committee which was read once in its entirety and then again clause by clause to allow for discussions, suggestions and comments from the floor. The resolutions as passed were the following:

RESOLUTION 1. That we express to the Prime Minister of Ontario our appreciation of the work of the Minister of Travel and Publicity and the Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board in erecting plaques, and that we request that the work be extended to include the preservation of historic buildings, other structures, and sites.

RESOLUTION 2. That we recommend to the Executive that they investigate the possibility of establishing an Ontario Historical Trust.

RESOLUTION 3. That we recommend to the Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board that a plaque be erected to the Honourable James Young, journalist, author, cabinet minister, and historian of Galt, Dumfries.

RESOLUTION 4. That we recommend to the Executive of this Society that they prepare a list of speakers who might be available to address local historical societies.

RESOLUTION 5. That, because of the growing interest in the work of the Ontario Historical Society and the consequent expansion of our programme, the question of an approach to the Minister of Travel and Publicity for an increase in the grant of the Society which would allow a full-time secretary and suitable office accommodation, should be considered by the incoming Executive with a view to action if that is considered proper and timely.

RESOLUTION 6. Whereas the dearth of easily available historical material at present deprives the people of Ontario of an appreciation of their background, which could be a source of strength and pleasure to them, and, whereas this lack will not be made good under present arrangements for many years, by which time many records will have been lost, now, therefore, be it resolved that the Ontario Historical Society request its Executive to put in hand the detailed study of a comprehensive plan for the publishing of a series of Ontario County and District histories, and if this is found feasible, to invite the support of the Government for the project.

Mr. Leslie R. Gray presented the report of the Nominating Committee. After expressing his regret that Professor Careless found it impossible to carry on for a second year in the presidency he proposed the following slate of officers for the coming year which the meeting then approved:

President .... Mr. David A. McFall, Toronto
First Vice-President .... Mr. Andrew W. Taylor, Galt
Second Vice-President .... Miss Kaye McFarland, Napanee

Committee Members .... Miss Mary Farmer, Hamilton, Mr. John M. Gray, Toronto; Miss Adeline Hanna, Niagara Falls; Mr. Charles Humphries, Toronto; Mrs. Gordon Lapp, Port Credit; Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz, Kitchener.

At the conclusion of the business session the Society's congratulations were extended to Dr. Zaslow for his success in obtaining a Nuffield Foundation Fellowship for the coming year.

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLICIZING ONTARIO'S HISTORY

By William H. Cranston

[The following address was given at the Annual Dinner of the Ontario Historical Society held in the Kress Mineral Springs Hotel, Preston, on the evening of Friday, June 24, 1960].

Mr. President, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a privilege and an honour to be asked to address your annual banquet. That I should be so honoured, however, recalls an incident which occurred early this spring. The mother of four children had agreed with her husband to go for a Sunday afternoon drive. To his surprise, he found her standing with the four little ones in the front hall, her arms full of winter clothing. Daddy, coming down the stairs, asked her why she was standing there. She handed him the coats and said: "This time YOU put on the coats and overshoes and I'LL honk the horn!"

I am afraid that in the sphere of historical preservation my job is something less akin to the essential function of putting on coats and overshoes and much more related to blowing the horn. And in a company of acknowledged experts, even the latter function tends to become somewhat muted.

There are, however, one or two thoughts I would like to leave with you tonight. The first of these relates to an experience of just four weeks ago. We had been discussing with the mayor of a town not too far north of Toronto the possibility of holding a municipal association convention in a particular summer hotel. The mayor opposed this particular location and we pressed him to tell us why. It was beautifully located, the food was good, each room was equipped with bath. Indeed it ranked far above the normal Ontario summer hotel.

"Well, I'll tell you," he finally confessed. "Last summer I took three guests for dinner there. We drove over 60 miles. When we got to the desk and inquired if we could reserve a table, we were told there would be no problem. They could take care of us. All was well. But then the room clerk picked up the phone to call the dining room and we heard him say: 'Four transients coming up'.

"I am not a transient," said the mayor. "And even if I had been I would deeply resent being referred to in that way. You can have that hotel. I'm not going back."

I am quite sure that my friend the mayor is not a member of this Ontario Historical Society, nor indeed of the historical society within his own community. He is, however, as all of you are, very conscious of his community roots and, to him, being called a "transient" was a well-nigh unforgiveable insult.

Yet, even if we resent the term, how many of us today live the life of a transient?

True, we have a home base—or as our beatniks would call it, "a pad"—but, whether it be a house, an apartment, or a hotel room, for a great percentage of our population, it has become perhaps more properly the term I first used, "a home base". And very frequently we are everywhere but on that base. This is a generation on wheels and on wings. Canadians, even more than our neighbours to the south, are continually on the move. We are a nation of gypsies on a local, national and international scale. And, as such, may I suggest that, by every reason of our not being more often on home base, we tend to get "off base", off base in our individual, in our community, and in our national orientation. There is more than a little truth to the suggestion that far more of us move in circles than follow fixed courses.

May I tell you of one other incident which occurred several years ago at an adult study group in Port Credit. I had been trying to set out the function of the local newspaper in the local community, perhaps not too expertly but at least at some length. In the question period that followed, one middle-aged and somewhat belligerent woman with an accent which betrayed certain cultural associations, rose to damn most of the weekly and small daily newspapers of Canada for their preoccupation with local goings-on, and their failure, in her view, to present to their readers a clear and continuing analysis of world events. This latter function, again in her view, was far more vital than what was happening at a local town council, on a hospital board, or at a local historical society session.

I did my best to try to show her why there was a role in our society for localized reporting and editorial interpretations as well as a place for our provincial and national media of communication, but I am afraid I failed to make my point. To her this localization of interest in any sphere was merely a further evidence of the parochialism which was fettering the future of the entire western world.

Personally, I am all for parochialism, parochialism of the kind that encourages one to dig deeply into the past, present and future of one's home parish, to become sufficiently aware of its problems and its opportunities, of its challenges and achievements, so that no one will ever term you a transient or a rootless person.

Indeed one of the proudest moments in my life came this spring in the little village of Coldwater, a Huronian hamlet midway between Orillia and Midland. The person who was introducing me to a local service club remarked that I had been born and grown up right there in Simcoe County. Apparently close to a quarter century of digging into and speaking about the history of Huronia had, at least for some people, wiped out my disgrace of having actually first seen the light of day in Big Daddy's burgeoning metropolis of Toronto and having grown up in the schools of the "mayor of all the people".

Just the same, to a great many Canadians today, the badge they most covet is that of world citizen. And they believe that to earn this badge the first and most vital step is to disavow all interest in the locality in which they live and become transients upon the sea of world opinion. You and I know how basically wrong is this thinking.

Some of you have heard me talk about the need for local glasses for local classes. This I must confess is a pet theme, this desireability of approaching history teaching through the local level and progressively expanding to the national and international. Far too often our history lessons are set in a never-never land thousands of miles away and therefore lose the spark of local interest which could make them come alive.

I cannot help, however, but sympathize with the plight of the primary and secondary school teachers who are conscientious enough to try to use this local approach. In far too many communities there is a sad lack of background material for both instructor and pupil. In other communities, of course, the reverse is true and perhaps the outcome is just as bad.

Some years ago when the primary school curriculum in social studies was introduced, you will recall that local committees were set up to advise teachers in the use of local material. I happened to sit on one of these advisory groups and one day was invited to meet with a sizeable group of elementary school teachers to explore the availability of source material for instruction in local history.

Our library in Midland has, very fortunately, accumulated over the years a fairly substantial reference section on Huronia and the Midland area and, when the meeting convened, we had spread out on a table some forty to fifty volumes dealing with our local history. I had hoped that this array would be sufficiently impressive to start the teachers digging deep into the subject. Unfortunately, I had once again misjudged human nature. The reaction was one of horror. It could perhaps be best summarized by the comment of an elderly Scottish lady faced for the first time with dining in a sumptuous hostelry. Her comment to the waiter was simply: "Tak away all they dishes and bring me ma dinner on a plate."

If we had been able to come up with a single local history text or, at the most, two, the teachers would have been delighted. But forty or fifty volumes. That was far too much. And I have some sympathy for them, too. The social science teacher who has thirty youngsters to cope with has some chore if they can put together as many questions as does our own teen-ager.

True, our Canadian history text books have become much more readable in recent years. History, I suspect, is not nearly the dull subject it was in my day. Our Department of Education deserves commendation. But I wonder still if that long-vacant post of director of local history in the Department should not be filled, and if some plan of tax aid should not be devised to foster the publication in each county and district of a well-illustrated local history, specifically written for school use.

That such a venture is not impracticable may perhaps be proven by our experience in the north end of Simcoe County where the Huronia Historic Sites and Tourist Association last week issued the fifth printing—and the 25,000th copy—of a 100-page simplified history of Huronia. Used extensively in the schools, it sells for educational purposes at 35c per copy and to tourists and those visiting our historical attractions at 50c. Over 20,000 have been sold in this way over the past ten years. True, there has been no royalty to the author and much of the cost of distribution has been voluntarily borne, but nonetheless it has been almost a break-even proposition. School inspectors recommend its use as an auxiliary text. It sells well at many resorts and museums. And it has been, we are told, of considerable help to the many teachers who come to communities in which they have no local roots or background.

The rapid growth of local museums in this province is a further evidence of a healthy parochialism. The national and international museum has a vital role in our lives but the introduction to such institutions comes most properly in terms of local preservation and interpretation. No longer is the average local museum in Ontario a repository of odds and ends from cellar and attic, including souvenirs brought back by Great Aunt Matilda from Borneo or New South Wales. Our curators and their committees have realized the potentiality of telling a cohesive story of a community in terms of its own local artifacts. And, even more happily, they have found that such stories find a ready market to the tourist visitor, to the local resident, and to the local school classes.

Museums all over this province—well over 100 of them now, and soon perhaps 125—are merchandising their local communities at 25c and 50c per head and finding that local history is completely saleable. True, some local and provincial financial assistance is still needed. And in this connection we are proud that our Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board and the Hon. Bryan Cathcart's Department of Travel and Publicity have had some part in expanding aid, both in terms of finances and technical assistance, to local museums. The end of this aid, we trust, is not yet.

Not only are more and more local museums spontaneously springing from the revitalized interest in local history, but more and more local historical societies, Municipal Councils, Women's Institutes, and citizens at large are moving to seek the preservation of our historically-significant buildings. True, governmental aid at the national, provincial and municipal level has so far been severely restricted . . . and probably justifiably so. To date most Canadians have been prepared to sacrifice even the most significant signposts of their past without even a murmur, let alone a public outcry. And governments are very properly concerned with public opinion in the budgeting of tax dollars. A public opinion that does not make itself felt is no public opinion. If we have not seen sufficient funds available for the preservation of historical buildings, we have in the main ourselves to blame.

I do, however, ladies and gentlemen, look forward to the day when we will see established an Ontario Historical Trust in which private and public funds may join to ensure that there are preserved for future generations more evidences of our beginnings. There is already some support in government circles for such an organization but to date there has been a significant lack of action to this end among the citizenry at large.

As a firm believer in the saleability of history, properly presented, I would hope that more—much more—can be done in this field in the next decade. Last year I had the opportunity of representing Ontario at a Great Lakes Historical Conference which took place at Mackinac Island. Those of you who have visited the historical reconstruction at Fort Mackinac and the most colourful dioramas and displays which now give life to that establishment will know what I mean. An investment of under $200,000 by the Michigan State Historical Commission at that site is bringing in net profits comparable to those earned by the Liquor Control Board of Ontario—and that on an island five miles from the mainland which has to be visited by ferry.

Dr. Wilfrid Jury's Indian Village at Midland, erected at a cost of something over $10,000, by its authentic but colourful representation on large scale of Huron life in the seventeenth century, has also proven a money-maker.

These things can be done, indeed they must be done, if we as a people are to fulfill our destiny. Without these signposts of the past we have no guideposts to the future.

Most if not all of these ventures, of course, have been the result of individual dedication.

When Prime Minister Leslie Frost gave the go-ahead to the historical marking programme of the Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board he gave us but one word of advice. Try, he said, in the drafting of each inscription, to include in it some reference to the individual person concerned. In other words, don't memorialize places or events without reference to the individual or individuals which gave them their significance. This, as those of you who have read our plaques will know, we have tried to do. Tomorrow morning we will unveil a commemorative plaque to John Erb, the founder of the community in which we meet tonight. And in this connection I would like to say a word of thanks to the local journalists who suggested a plaque in Preston. We have received from all media of mass communication, but especially from the newspapers of Ontario, incalculable assistance, not only in seeking out subjects for our now close to 200 plaques, but in telling their story to the local residents and acquainting them with perhaps some forgotten aspect of their community life in which they should rightly take pride. Our newspapers, especially the smaller ones, have for many years performed a most valuable service in the field of local history.

In this connection the Galt Reporter has for many years carried a most interesting column on the early days and residents of that community, amply aided, I am sure, by many of your Waterloo Historical Society members such as President and Mrs. Will Barrie, whose home we are to visit tomorrow on the Cedar Creek Road—a road, incidentally, which figured large in my bedtime stories as my late father recalled early days at Hidden Valley Farm, on Shade Street and at Soper's Park.

In speaking of the newspapers of this area I am reminded that the first journal in Waterloo County was the German weekly published by William Henry Peterson in Berlin, Upper Canada, from August 27, 1835, until he moved to Guelph in 1841. Mr. Peterson must have been almost psychic in his choice of the name for his newspaper—"Canada Museum". In the 125 years since its founding I know of few parts of Canada which have been so concerned with the preservation of their history than the constituency of that pioneer weekly. Nor can I refrain, in this connection, from some reference to the late Louis Blake Duff, one of your most distinguished journalists and historians, who died last August in his 82nd year. The Galt Reporter, of which I spoke earlier, was founded by Peter Jaffray 114 years ago this coming November and in its operation was associated for four years Dr. Duff and, incidentally, my own father.

Our Archaeological and Historic Sites Board was pleased last September to erect a plaque to two other famous pioneers of Waterloo—the founders of Galt, the Honourable William Dickson and Absolom Shade. Tomorrow we commemorate John Erb, the founder of Preston, whose story is most ably told in the place mats we have tonight, courtesy of Mayor Don S. Snider and his council, with an assist, I am told, from Dr. Gordon (Verne) Hilborn, Past President of the Waterloo Historical Society, and the ever-diligent Andrew Taylor, one of whose many hats bears the label of First Vice-President of the same Waterloo Society.

Sunday a plaque is to be unveiled to Bishop Benjamin Eby at the First Mennonite Church in Kitchener; and, as most of you know, the West Montrose "Kissing Bridge", the last covered bridge in Ontario, is also to be the subject of a plaque to be erected this summer. As reported in the 47th annual volume of the Waterloo Historical Society papers, the traditional toll on this West Montrose bridge was one kiss per night crossing. What with the well-publicized automation of toll bridges in other parts of Canada, and the financial advantages alleged to accrue therefrom, it seemed fitting that the Province of Ontario should pay some official tribute to toll-taking of a more human and more pleasurable nature.

Waterloo County stays in the news historically, it seems, without half trying. But that is not really true. The amount of effort that goes into your historical projects is really one-and-a-half trying. Witness, if you will, the publicity brought to your Doon undertaking by Andrew Taylor when he arranged to have his, and Ontario's, only yoke of oxen interviewed by CBC radio at the last International Plowing Match. It once used to be that success or failure depended on whose ox was being gored. Now it seems to relate more closely to whose ox is being aired.

I would like to close tonight with a further reference to the need for stressing the role of individuals in our society, past, present and future. We hear a lot of talk these days about the battle between state domination and free enterprise. The last term is, I fear, very often misunderstood. If we were to call it "individual enterprise", we would make ourselves much clearer. I speak to you tonight as persons committed to the belief that only through individual initiative and enterprise may we conserve the basic values of our society. You are well aware of that fact, whether it refers to your own local historical society, the provincial historical society, or to society at large.

Look again at the labour of love by Mrs. T. D. Cowan (Jessie Turnbull Cowan, another daughter of North Dumfries) in preparing the history of Preston we have before us. Preston Graham, the proprietor of the hotel in which we now meet, is one who seems almost to have been a staunch supporter of the Waterloo Historical Society since his forebears came up this way from Pennsylvania in the early 1800's. Incidentally, I understand that, following the precedent of his ribbon-winning horses, Mr. Graham, himself, is to be honoured at this convention. Perhaps this action is to be taken in some compensation for the temporary loss of his mineral springs whose artesian wells were somewhat dried up when Preston began drilling in its search for a bigger and better water supply.

Nor would any review of the important role of individuals be complete in this community without reference to Waterloo Warden Jim Sanderson who sits for Preston on the county council and whose tricorne hat has now been replaced by a fine chain of office. Or Kitchener architect-historian, Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz, recently elected to the Architectural Conservacy of Ontario, now headed by the most able Ruth Home; nor Mrs. Andrew Taylor who edits most capably the newsletters of the Museums Section of the Ontario Historical Society; nor Dr. A. E. Broome, of Kitchener, who, despite serious illness, has, along with Andrew Taylor, been among the major moving spirits in your Ontario Pioneer Community Foundation whose museum was officially opened June 14.

I could go on and on. This love of history brings together many wonderful people, whether they be professors of history, publishers, lawyers, teachers, librarians, physicians, architects, publicists, civil servants—I suspect one might include in addition to the "tailors", tinkers, soldiers, sailors, rich men, poor men, beggar men, and even perhaps, so I may not be personally excluded, the odd thief. Dedicated individuals, men and women prepared to assume burdens over and above the normal, prepared to sacrifice their own desires, are those who carry on the Ontario Historical Society. You know that. And these same people, and their counterparts in other spheres, are the men and women on whose shoulders marches our whole civilization. These are our missionaries on behalf of not only historical values but spiritual values as well.

For some strange reason many of the spokesmen of our Christian community put their seal of approval on socialism as the cure-all for this world's ills, apparently sincere in the belief that in this way they are promoting the spiritual over the secular. I find myself constantly in the other camp. I respect the role of government as a policeman and, indeed, as an agency through which the public may act voluntarily in concert to accomplish certain desirable ends. But the only true initiative, indeed the only good initiative, must continue to find its source in responsible individualism.

On this note I close and it is, in essence, a warning.

Thank you for the many kind things that have been said about the government's Archaeological and Historic Sites Board, about tax aid to museums, about the grants for archaeological research which in small part our board has been recommending. But remember this. Just as this same board is made up of individuals donating their time and energy to the cause of history—your president Professor Careless as Vice-Chairman of the Board is foremost among these—so it is vital in the field of history as in all matters that we do not as individuals surrender our initiative.

Please, ladies and gentlemen, let us continue to take the lead through our Ontario and local historical societies. Let us recommend. Let us criticize. Let us bring forth ideas. Let us raise in large part our own funds so that we are masters in our own house. And let us honour our individual leaders today as on our plaques we honour those of the past. Now is the time for all good men and women to come to the aid of their history. Let us be missionaries of the past so that we may become missionaries for the future.

The Editor regrets that space does not permit the publication in this number of very interesting reports from the Lundy's Lane, Bruce County, and Hastings County Historical Societies, also a report on the sixteenth annual radio series of the Essex County Tourist Association, and a most interesting news clipping supplied by Mr. W. A. Dempsey, P.O. Box 181, Belleville. It is hoped that these and other news items may be published in the next issue.

The Editor desires to remind secretaries of affiliated societies of the planned review of the activities of societies during 1960 which will be appearing in one of the early numbers of *Ontario History* in the coming year, and to urge that they prepare their reports and send them to Miss Ash as early in the New Year as possible.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Originally adopted May 23, 1898; amended June 2, 1914; amended July 16, 1931; revised and amended June 22, 1933; amended June 13, 1947; amended June 12, 1954; amended June 15, 1956; amended June 21, 1957; revised and amended June 23, 1960.

---

1. NAME: The Society shall be called "The Ontario Historical Society".
2. OBJECTS: Its objects shall be, to unite the various Pioneer and Historical Societies of the Province in one central head or organization, thereby the better to promote intercourse and cooperation on the part of all such societies, to form new societies and to promote and extend the influence and benefits thereof.
   The Society shall publish a magazine and other material devoted to the history of the Province, shall hold annual meetings in various cities and towns in the Province, and shall cooperate with the Provincial Archives, the Royal Ontario Museum, and other historical societies and museums in preserving the documents and archaeological artifacts which may contribute to the understanding and interpretation of our history. It may also undertake projects of any nature to encourage and develop within this Province the study of history.
3. MEMBERSHIP: The Society shall be composed of the following classes of members—Ex-officio, Corporate, Life, Sustaining, Honorary, Family, and Annual.
   (a) Ex-officio honorary members are the following government and other officials, during the term of their incumbency:
   The Governor-General of Canada
   The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario
   The Prime Minister of Ontario
   The Minister of Education for Ontario
   The Minister of Travel and Publicity for Ontario
   The Deputy Minister in charge of the Public Archives of Canada
   The Deputy Minister in charge of the Public Records and Archives of Ontario
   The Chairman and Ontario members of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
   The Chairman and Secretary of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario.
   (b) Corporate membership may be granted by the Executive Committee to any organization or body which is interested in the study and exploration of any phase of the history or archaeology of the Province, on payment of a fee fixed by the Society from time to time for such membership. Each corporate member within the Province of Ontario shall be entitled to appoint a voting delegate to meetings of the Society.
   (c) Honorary members may be elected by the Society on recommendation of the Executive Committee.
   (d) Life memberships may be granted to persons who shall at any time contribute not less than Fifty Dollars to the funds of the Society, or who have been elected to such membership by the Society on the recommendation of the Executive Committee.
   (e) Sustaining membership is open to any person who will pay a fee of not less than Ten Dollars per annum.
   (f) Family membership, with one subscription to ONTARIO HISTORY, may be granted at an annual fee fixed from time to time by the Society.
   (g) Annual membership is open to any person who will pay the annual fee fixed from time to time by the Society.
4. AFFILIATED LOCAL SOCIETIES: The Society's Act of Incorporation provides that
   "Any historical or pioneer society hereafter becoming affiliated with the said society under the constitution and by-laws of the latter in that behalf, shall thereby become incorporated by the name under which it shall have become affiliated, and with all the powers and privileges conferred by this Act upon The Ontario Historical Society".

In accordance with this clause any such organization may receive the benefits of incorporation by applying for affiliation to the Society, and being granted the affiliation by resolution of the Society's Executive Committee.

Every affiliated society which has paid its annual fees shall be entitled to have one voting delegate at the annual meeting of the Society.

5. FEES: Annual members, family members, corporate members, and affiliated societies, shall pay an annual fee fixed from time to time by the Society.

6. MANAGEMENT: The affairs of the Society shall be administered by an Executive Committee pursuant to the directions of the annual meeting. This Committee shall have charge of the financial affairs of the Society, and of the arrangements for the issuance of the Society's publications, and, in general, shall attend to all routine business.

   It shall consist of:

(a) The Immediate Past President	
(b) A President Two Vice-Presidents Six Committee Members	elected at the annual meeting of the Society
(c) A Treasurer A Secretary An Editor	appointed or removed by the President with the advice of the other elected members.

   (d) A Museums Section Chairman, elected by the Museum Section.

   The offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be combined if desired. The duties of the Secretary are covered by Section 18; of the Treasurer, by Section 19; of the Editor, by Section 20; of the Museums Section Chairman, by Section 21.

7. Sub-committees, with Chairmen selected from its membership, may be appointed by the Executive Committee, to which body such sub-committees shall be responsible.

8. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
   (a) may adopt by-laws for its government and guidance not inconsistent with the constitution;
   (b) shall make an annual report of its acts and doings to the Society, and of the condition of the Society and its work, accompanied by such suggestions as may seem appropriate; and
   (c) shall perform such additional duties as may from time to time be imposed upon it by the Society.

9. MEETINGS: The annual general meeting of the Society shall be held at such time and place in Ontario and on such date as shall be determined by the Executive Committee, at least one month's notice to be given to the members of the intended meeting, to receive the annual reports of the Society and take proper action thereon, for the nomination and election of the officers, and to transact such other business as may be required.

   Every member, or delegate of a corporate member or affiliated society present at a general meeting whose fee is not in arrears shall be entitled to one vote. Corporate members and affiliated societies may be represented by not more than one voting delegate whose name is to be given to the Secretary before the meeting.

10. Special meetings of the Society, and meetings of the Executive Committee, may be held from time to time as required, upon call of the President, or of some officer deputed to act for him, or, if he declines to act, on the request of three members of the Executive Committee.

11. No subject involving differences in religion or politics will on any account be considered proper for discussion.

12. QUORUMS: A quorum shall be as follows:
    For a meeting of the Society 15
    For a meeting of the Executive Committee........................the minimum provided by the Corporations Act.

13. OFFICERS: The officers of the Society shall be an Honorary President, a President, two Vice-Presidents, an Editor, a Treasurer, and a Secretary (or a Secretary-Treasurer).

14. The Honorary President shall be appointed by the annual meeting on the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

15 The elected members of the Executive Committee shall be chosen each year at the annual meeting of the Society. Previous to the annual meeting the Executive Committee shall appoint three members of a nominating committee to canvass possible candidates, and three others shall be named by the annual meeting at its first business session. This completed nominating committee shall then elect its own chairman and determine a list of nominations for elected officers of the Society and for elected members of the Executive Committee for the consideration of the Society not later than the forenoon session of the closing day of the annual meeting.

The appointment of the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Editor are provided for in Section 6, above.

16. The principal duties of the President shall be to preside at all meetings and be the official head of the Society and of the Executive Committee.

17. The principal duties of the Vice-Presidents shall be, in the order of seniority, to discharge the duties of President in the event of the latter's absence or disability, for any cause whatever, and in case the President and the Vice-Presidents are all absent, then any member may be chosen by a majority of those present, to act as President pro tempore.

18. The duties of the Secretary shall be to keep a record of the proceedings of the Society and the Executive Committee; to keep safely and systematically all papers, records, and documents belonging to the Society or in anywise pertaining to the business thereof, except such as may be committed to the care of other officers; to conduct the correspondence of the Society; to act as the superintendent of its permanent offices, its library, museum, and collections, and other property committed to his care; to record the accessions of material; to catalogue and arrange the same; and, generally to act under the direction of the Executive Committee.

19. The principal duties of the Treasurer shall be to receive and keep in custody all moneys and such other property of the Society as may be committed to his charge by the Executive Committee; to invest the capital of the funds in his hands as he shall be authorized by the Executive Committee; to pay out such of the said moneys from time to time as he shall be authorized to pay upon proper warrants and vouchers therefor, to keep proper accounts of his receipts and disbursements; and to render from time to time as required full and correct statements thereof and generally of all matters pertaining to his office.

He shall be bonded by a recognized Bonding Company, at the expense of the Society, for an amount which shall be not less than the total of cash on hand or on deposit and other negotiable securities at the first of the fiscal year for which the bond shall apply, plus $1,000---the total rounded out to the nearest thousand dollars.

20. The Editor shall be appointed by, and hold office during the pleasure of, the Executive Committee. The duties of the Editor shall be to search out, and receive, manuscripts of articles that are consistent with the objects of the Society (Section 2). He shall select those manuscripts which he considers to be most suitable for publication; he shall edit these, and he shall arrange for having them printed in the Society's publication in accordance with approval which he shall secure from the Executive Committee.

21. THE MUSEUMS SECTION:

(a) MEMBERSHIP: The Museums Section shall be composed of members of the Society who have paid a subscription fee to the Newsletter, together with one representative from each of the following: a museum holding a corporate membership in the Society, an affiliated society which operates a museum, a museum operated by the governments of Ontario or Canada.

(b) VOTING: Each member of the Museums Section present at a general meeting of the Section is entitled to one vote. Member museums, affiliated societies operating museums, and government museums may be represented by not more than one voting delegate each, whose name is to be given to the Secretary of the Museums Section before the meeting. Only members and appointed delegates may introduce resolutions, or vote.

(c) PURPOSE: The purpose of the Museums Section shall be to ascertain the needs and desires of the museums of the Province, to establish standards, to exchange ideas, to disseminate information, and unite all in a fellowship of museum workers. It is understood that actions of the Museum Section are to be consistent with the objects of the Society, and shall in no way commit the Society to any expenditure, nor action with others, without the approval of the Executive Committee of the Society.

(d) The Museums Section shall elect annually a chairman, and such other officers as they require, who shall be members of The Ontario Historical Society. The President of the Society shall be ex-officio an officer of the Museums Section.

(e) The Chairman of the Museums Section shall be ex-officio a member of the Executive Committee of the Society, and shall report to the Executive Committee on the activities of the Section.

(f) The Museums Section shall present to the annual meeting of the Society a report giving details of its activities, and a report of its finances, which shall be published along with the financial report of the Society.

22. All moneys of the Society shall, when received, be forthwith deposited to the credit of the Society in a chartered bank, a branch of the Provincial Savings Office, or a Trust Company approved by the Executive Committee, and shall be subject to withdrawal only on cheques signed by the President (or, in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents) and the Treasurer, subject to the regulations and directions of the Executive Committee. Funds of the Society not required for the current needs of the Society shall be invested in bonds or debentures selected by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer's accounts shall be audited before each annual meeting by an auditor appointed by the Executive Committee, and the audited statement shall be published, and circulated to the members.

23. The said officers shall perform such additional, or different duties as may from time to time be imposed or required by the Executive Committee, or as may be prescribed from time to time by the by-laws.

24. Upon the death, resignation, or removal from office of any other officer of the Society, his successor may be chosen by the Executive Committee at any special or general meeting thereof, and hold office until the next annual meeting of the Society.

25. The Executive Committee shall have power by a majority vote of all its members, or upon a two-thirds vote of those present at a lawful meeting thereof, to remove from office any officer of the Society, whenever from disability, neglect of duty, inefficiency, mismanagement, misconduct in office, or other cause, the best interests of the Society shall in its opinion seem to require such removal. It shall have power to fill temporarily (until the annual or a general meeting) such vacancy in its own number.

26. RULES OF PROCEDURE:

(a) If two members rise at the same time to address the meeting the presiding officer shall decide who has the floor.

(b) Any member addressing the meeting shall do so through the presiding officer, and shall not occupy the floor more than fifteen minutes without permission.

(c) At all meetings the chair is to be taken punctually at the hour appointed, and in case thirty minutes elapse without a quorum, the meeting may stand adjourned until such time as the members may name and appoint.

27. No portion of the Constitution or By-laws of the Society shall be altered, added to, or repealed, except by the vote of not less than two-thirds of the members present at the meeting; and of such proposed alteration, addition, or repeal, notice shall be given to the Secretary in writing and signed by a member, at least one month before the said meeting. The Secretary shall, immediately, on receipt of such notice, send copies of such proposed alteration, addition, or repeal, to every member of the Society, and to the Secretary of every affiliated society.

This Society shall have power by a two-thirds vote to vary the terms of any proposed amendment to the Constitution properly received by it, but only so far as such variation shall be within the scope and purpose of the proposed amendment thereby affected.

THE LUMBER COMMUNITY OF UPPER CANADA, 1815-1867

By Michael S. Cross

In post-Confederation Canada, lumbering became a thoroughly respectable industry, the backbone of the nation's economy. It was not always so. In the half-century previous to Confederation, it was "regarded as a distracting influence, an occupation legal, it is true, but not creditable."[1] And there was a great deal of justification for such an opinion. The lumber community, wherever it touched other segments of society, was a socially disturbing factor, both in the behaviour of its employees, and in the fatal lure of its glamour.

Previous to the first decade of the nineteenth century, lumbering was a relatively unimportant industry in British North America. Some timber had been brought out of the Richelieu country during the French regime, but logging proceeded primarily as an adjunct to agriculture, the forest being cleared as quickly as possible to make way for settlement. In Upper Canada this process was accelerated by economic circumstances, for the only forest product that justified the heavy transport cost to Great Britain, the sole available market, was potash. In destroying the forests, settlers could fulfil a double purpose—clearing for farming, and burning for potash. By 1835 these inducements had sufficed to clear timber all the way from the Lower Canada boundary to Lake Ontario.

Lumbering could not be profitable in the Canadas. Britain drew her timber from the Baltic area, whose shorter transportation routes and cheap labour priced Canada out of the market. The United States, as yet only cautiously pushing towards the Mid-west, found ample timber at home to meet her needs. New Brunswick, situated on the Atlantic sea-lanes, found more opportunity for lumbering, but even there it remained a minor industry, though by 1803 it stood second to agriculture. Lumbering achieved real prominence in British North America thanks to external events. The Napoleonic Wars destroyed the economic balance of northern Europe and threatened the whole British trading system. Sensing the danger, Britain began to withdraw behind tariff barriers.[2] Napoleon's Berlin Decree of 1806 and the answering British orders-in-council created a wall around Europe, all but snuffing out the Baltic timber supply. Of a sudden, colonial timber became vital and a lumbering boom was on.

Lumbering became a firmly established industry in British North America during the war, and with the end of the Montreal fur trade in 1821, the new staples—timber and wheat—reigned supreme from Rupert's Land to the Atlantic fisheries. It was with a strangling feeling, then, that

---

[1] A. R. M. Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1936), 30.

[2] Duty on foreign timber, 1804, 25s a load, 1806, £1.7.2, 1813, £3.5.0. See, D. G. Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto, 1956), 149.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 4.

the great colonial merchants viewed any tampering with the imperial system. The reduction of the foreign timber tariff in 1822, the Huskisson tariff of 1825,[3] these were severe blows to the trading community, and an indication of a changing mood in Britain. The Canadas met the crisis by a reorganization of their trading pattern. Four new banks—the Montreal Bank, the Quebec Bank, the Bank of Canada, and the Bank of Upper Canada—were instituted between 1817 and 1821, to provide financial footing for trade expansion. The Lachine Canal was finished in 1825, and, during 1824 and 1825, William Hamilton Merritt organized his Welland Canal Company with dreams of carrying the St. Lawrence system to the American West.

The Canadas suffered during the depression years of 1826-1828. Only a very small proportion of the population, however, was engaged in the staples trade and the better organized business community quickly recovered from the 'slump'. Nevertheless, the merchants were on the alert for any further threats to their business. When Viscount Althorp brought in a budget in 1831 reducing the imperial lumber preference to thirty-five shillings (from forty-five), an outcry arose from all the powerful lumber interests at home and abroad. The Quebec Committee of Trade, the Upper Canadian Legislature, the London Lumber Merchants, all combined forces to bring about the defeat of the measure in the Commons, while in New Brunswick the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Howard Douglas dramatically resigned to express his concern.

Thereafter the lumber industry recovered rapidly. New Brunswick, for example, found a large market in the West Indies which, by 1840, accounted for twenty-six million board feet of lumber annually.[4] Britain was still an enormous and growing market, for railway building was created a great new demand. The Canadas too found a great new market after 1835 in the United States. New developments in transportation—canals and lake towing—had opened this trade. To a large degree, transportation created the trade in Upper Canada, not vice versa. The newly opened markets gave the Canadas a buffer against the disasters of the 1840s.

The first indication of things to come was in 1842, when the imperial timber preference to the colonies was reduced by fifteen shillings a load. Trade was severely curtailed by this legislation.[5] Then the final ruin of the colonial system in 1848 threw British North America into a frenzy of fear and despair. For the lumber community to find itself once more, a complete reorganization was necessary. In the Canadas the staples merchants vented their fury in the futile Montreal riots and the Annexation Manifesto of 1849, while in New Brunswick they joined the radicals to force Responsible Government on an unhappy executive. But reorganize they did, to live an unhealthy half-life in New Brunswick, to flourish with new vigour in the Canadas.

---

[3] The Huskisson tariff levied heavy duties on meat imported from foreign countries into British possessions. This was a blow to the lumber community which relied upon pork from the United States for provisioning.

[4] A. R. M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest* (Toronto, 1938), 72.

[5] Lumber exports of New Brunswick, 1841—£1,792,824, 1842—£888,426. Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier*, 36.

This, then, was the general picture of the lumber community in British North America. In Upper Canada it had sharper outlines. Lumbering was the lifesblood of that province. By 1849 forest products amounted to some forty-two per cent of the exports of the Province of Canada, the bulk of which originated in Canada West.[6] With the gleam of profits in his eyes, the lumberman opened the woods of the colony, sweeping up the Ottawa, across the midland areas, from Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay. He left behind him a trail of ruined forests and embittered farmers. He was the architect of a strange new world. "No medieval ravisher could have been more fierce and unscrupulous than the lumberman. His lust of power and wealth have changed the face of the country, built cities and railroads and created a sort of civilization —as impermanent as the material with which it was concerned, wood, but out of destruction perhaps bringing forth certain fruits of abiding worth."[7] For, whatever his many faults, the lumberman was a trail blazer, opening areas inaccessable to the settler, for "Settlers and Colonization invariably follow in the wake of the lumbermen, who may indeed be styled the pioneers of civilization and development."[8]

Except in the Ottawa Valley the social effect of the lumber community on Upper Canada was not severe. Lumbering, in the section that fronted on lakes Ontario and Erie, was restricted to meeting the local demand and it was a definitely minor scale industry. Until about 1835, the American market was closed. Sufficient timber was still available in the woods of upper New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio to supply the needs of the northern United States. And due to the difficulties in transporting logs along the lakes, Quebec, the base for British bound cargoes, was an impractical market. As a result lumbering did not attract investment for large scale production and hence was often carried on in communal fashion, in keeping with the cooperative tradition of a pioneer community. Saw-mills either were owned by the community at large or operated on a share basis, and cut the boards necessary for local use at little cost to the settler. With no drives, no camps, no temptation to linger in the woods, Upper Canada was free from the demoralization which the industry brought to New Brunswick.

Unfortunately, there was a dark side to this rosy scene. Blissfully unaware that a large export market for lumber was soon to open, the farmers of the lake front butchered the finest trees to build their cabins, their fences, their pig-stys. Norfolk County was a classic example of this waste. Perhaps the finest stand of white pine in North America was ruthlessly levelled to make way for agriculture. Ironically, the soil proved to be sandy and virtually useless, until tobacco was developed there many years afterwards.

---

[6] Lower, *North American Assault*, 130.

[7] *Ibid.*, 26.

[8] *The Lumber Trade of the Ottawa Valley, with a Description of Some of the Principal Manufacturing Establishments* (Ottawa, 1871), 6.

The demand from the United States for lumber grew steadily after 1835. By this time American settlement had swept past the lakes, destroying the native timber supply on its westward progress. What was left was almost exclusively hardwood, unsuitable for ordinary building purposes. The canal system, erected after 1822, provided easy transportation to the American markets. Furthermore, a large amount of American capital was released at this time, to be used in exploiting the Canadian timber lands. The West Indies trade of New England had dried up, and the slave trade was cut off. The virgin field of Upper Canada received some of this free capital. Indicative of the sudden upsurge of exports to the United States are the shipments from St. Johns, Lower Canada, an outlet to the United States for Upper Canadian lumber. From 1807 to 1826, the only timber recorded as passing through that port was one hundred and twelve cords of firewood in 1822.[9] But a flurry of canal building—the Lachine in 1825, the Rideau in 1832, the Chambly in 1835—opened a flood of timber through St. Johns. In 1834 the exports reached a value of £2000, in 1839, £3600, and in 1853, £5100.[10]

In 1835, "United States traders came this year into Canada, bought up wheat, flour, provisions and lumber, and paid heavy American duties on their export out of this country."[11] Mills sprang up all along the lake front as lumber poured through the Richelieu Canal and the Oswego feeder to the United States. This American market was radically different in its requirements from the British. Britain was interested almost exclusively in square pine timber or deals.[12] Since these could be made from only the best timber, the square timber trade was extremely wasteful of forest resources.[13] The United States market was less discriminating, taking a wide variety of timber, ranging from spars to firewood. The largest part of the export to the south was in planks and boards, of almost any quality. In 1853 Canadian saw-mills churned out £470,187 worth of board and planks for the American market.[14] Unlike square timbering, a simple process of cutting and squaring, the cutting of boards on the export scale required the establishment of large saw-mills and elaborate means of transport. Hence the Canadians were forced to organize lumbering on a capitalistic basis unlike the simple square timber trade. The

---

[9] Lower, *North American Assault*, 96.

[10] *Ibid.*, 97: *Tables of the Trade and Navigation of the Province of Canada for the Year 1853* (Quebec, 1854).

[11] Montreal *Gazette*, June 11, 1835.

[12] Deals were planks of 3 inch or greater width, cut from the best timber.

[13] As late as 1853, of £1,682,125 worth of forest products exported to Great Britain, £1,223,811 was made up of deals and pine timber. *Tables of Trade and Navigation, 1853.*

[14] *Ibid.*

Montreal—or New York—centred company replaced the family unit as the usual group engaged in the trade and the professional lumberman became a familiar figure. The industry, through a more solid economic basis and better organization, was better able to withstand depressions than the square timber trade, but was susceptible to more, if less severe, fluctuations. In the capitalistic complex of Upper Canada, directed from a distant metropolis, the industry rolled on like a machine. Once started in the autumn, the machine could not be stopped, no matter what happened on the market. While Upper Canada never suffered a complete disaster such as occured in New Brunswick,[15] over-production was a constant threat.

The lumber merchants and large entrepreneurs were not solely to blame for the fluctuations in supply and hence in prices. Small firms, encouraged by periods of high prices, were lured into the trade. Without solid financial backing, they were all but doomed in a necessarily large scale industry. The Bytown *Gazette*, viewing the depressing export figures for 1841 through 1843,[16] launched into a tirade against small lumberers as the cause of all the problems in the trade. Lumbering had not been injured by the reduction of the British preference, the *Gazette* insisted, but, rather, "The cause is solely from there being no attention paid to proportion the supply to the demand among those engaged in the trade . . . . We have frequently had occasion to remark that the facility with which men possessed of no means could embark in this trade, deterred capitalists from doing so; and . . . the reckless and extravagant method by which it was carried on by such characters . . . deprived the trade of that character for stability without which no branch of commerce can prosper."[17]

Overly-ambitious farmers turned to the trade to make 'easy' cash. As John Langton related in 1844, "The complaints are universal of the difficulty of making a living by farming, and I feel no doubt, after giving it a fair trial, that in the present state of affairs it is not to be done."[18] But timbering, too, had its perils. "The great source of failure among lumberers," Langton decided, "is their sinking their capital in securing a field to work on long before they use it, and otherwise extending their business so much beyond their means as (to) have to get advances from the Montreal and Quebec men, who thus get all the profit."[19] But, in any event, the problem of the farmer-lumberer was not acute in Upper Canada. The difficulties of a drive down the small streams of the province and the virtual impossibility of transporting one's own logs all the way to Quebec discouraged all but the most venturesome farmers. The general pattern remained that of the farmers taking logs from their own property to the local mill, receiving cash or goods from the mill owner who in turn sold the boards to exporters.

---

[15] See, Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier*; James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick* (St. John, N.B., 1909).

[16] White pine exports, 1841-91,637 pieces, 1843-41,811. Bytown *Gazette*, Thursday, September 1, 1843.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] W. A. Langton, ed., *Early Days in Upper Canada, Letters of John Langton* (Toronto, 1926), 199.

[19] *Ibid.*, 202.

Since this was the case, the capitalistically-based lumber industry of Upper Canada was divorced from agriculture, and avoided the moral laxity and blight, the financial instability characteristic of New Brunswick's often unsuccessful combination of agriculture and lumbering. Indeed, the farmer of Upper Canada was generally blissfully unaware of the value of the forests. Caniff Haight, about 1830, found the settlers of the central area of the province "knew but little of what was passing in the world outside, and as a general thing they cared less."[20] Their connection with lumbering was practically non-existant. "Wood, save the large oak and pine timber, was valueless, and was cut down and burned to get it out of the way."[21] Later, in 1846, Sir Richard Bonnycastle of the Royal Engineers had much the same to report. The farmers were still ignorant of the wooden treasure which surrounded them. With almost child-like agrarian glee, Bonnycastle described the ruin of the forests.

> "When you have cut down the mighty trees, then comes the logging. Reader, did you ever log? It is precious work! Fancy yourself in a smock-frock, the best of all working dresses, having cut the huge trees into lengths of a few feet, rolling these lengths up into a pile, and ranging the branches and brushwood for convenient combustion; then waiting for a favourable wind, setting fire to all your heaps, and burying yourself in grime and smoke; then rolling up these half-consumed enormous logs, till, after painful toil, you get them to burn to potash . . . but logging, logging—nobody likes logging."[22]

Agriculture was the future of Canada. This became painfully obvious to the government when the colonial system crashed down about their ears. It seems to have been quite clear to the lumber kings, too, as evidenced by their eagerness to escape from the toils of Britain into the arms of a new metropolis, the United States. In 1848, the merchants made their last bid for 'justice' from Great Britain. Their complaints were summed up in a petition to the Earl of Elgin, and signed by "The Lumber Merchants at Bytown." They called his attention to the fact that "since the year 1842 . . . the lumber trade in this province, with the exception of the year 1845, has been in a languishing, depressed, and even a ruinous state; brought about and experienced from the fact that the manufacturers and shippers in this province, cannot compete with those in the Northern Ports of Europe." To aid them, they asked for a reduction in the duties for cutting timber on Crown land, and a new licensing system to prevent defrauding and clashes over timber rights.[23] Receiving no redress, the lumber tycoons rushed to cut away the vestiges of British control with the Annexation Manifesto.[24] It was a futile and a short-lived gesture of defiance. Sir John Abbott later rationalized that the signers had "no more serious idea of seeking annexation with the United States than a petulent child who strikes his nurse, has of deliberately murdering her."[25] This seems a rather facile explanation. Their emotions brought them to sign the Manifesto, but their intellect told them that the mass of the Canadian people stood against them and, within a year, their purses told them that their fear of ruin was unfounded.

---

[20] Caniff Haight, *Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago* (Toronto, 1885), 104.

[21] *Ibid.*, 106.

[22] Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, *Canada and the Canadians in 1846* (London, 1846), 79.

[23] Toronto *Globe*, February 26, 1848.

Far from drying up, trade increased steadily from 1849 to 1865. In 1849, $4,000,000 worth of forest products were exported to Britain from the United Province, $1,200,000 to the United States. By 1865, the figures were, to Britain $9,000,000, to the United States $5,000,000.[26] Severals factors combined to make the predictions of doom unfounded. Reciprocity was one, although some lumberers had complaints of the treaty.[27] A surge in British railway construction and the Crimean War helped keep the London market booming. The population of the United States continued to spiral and the demands of the Civil War expanded trade. But probably most significant for central Upper Canada was the railway development of North America.

By 1854, the Canadas boasted some seven hundred and ninety miles of railway lines, and the lines under construction, when completed, would bring the total mileage to one thousand, nine hundred and eighty.[28] Lumbering accounted for a large part of the increase. American capital, as well as Canadian, pushed tracks into the forests, seeking out huge quantities of timber as traffic. Boston, in particular, was making a bold bid to divert the trade of the Ottawa Valley from the river-route to Quebec and Britain into her metropolitan system. The Boston-Ogdensburg line carried rails to the border by 1850. In 1852, Boston interests embarked upon the Bytown and Prescott Railway, with sanguine hopes of carrying twenty-five million feet of lumber in the first year of operation.[29] Their line was built to a 4' 8½" gauge, to tie in with the railroads of New England, and to prevent the Grand Trunk, using the 5' 6" gauge, from tapping the flow and diverting it to Montreal. The increased ease of transportation by rail, they felt, would surely lure lumbermen to their system. By barge, it took ten days to carry lumber from Bytown to Lake Champlain. In four days, the railway would have the wood in Massachusetts.[30] However, the Bytown and Prescott Railway was a fiasco, for trans-shipment across the St. Lawrence proved prohibitively expensive. Besides, the Bytown terminus was poorly placed, requiring extra handling of lumber from the mills to the railway. At any rate, the attempt was premature. Rail costs could not hope to compete with river transportation. Bytown was still basically a square timber and deal town, and the bulky square timber made water by far the most economical route. Montreal and Quebec had won out over Boston.

---

[24] Among the signers of the Manifesto, we can distinguish David Douglas Young of the lumber firm of G. B. Symes and Co.; Asa Cook of Petite Nation, a large lumber merchant; Joseph Aumond of Bytown; J. G. Irvine of Quebec; Ruggles Wright of Hull; J. Gilmour and John Thomson of Quebec; and Alexander and William McBean, lumbermen. *The Annexation Manifesto of 1849, Reprinted From the Original Pamphlet With the Names of the Signers* (Montreal, 1881); Appendix No. 3 to the Eighth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session 1849, App. PPPP; Appendix No. 2, Session 1844-45, Appendix OO.

[25] Joseph Pope, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald,* (Ottawa, 1894), I, 71.

[26] Lower, *North American Assault.*

[27] James Little, a lumberman, grumbled, "It is, I am aware, the general opinion of the people of the United States that Canada benefitted largely by the Reciprocity Treaty while in force, but the very reverse is the fact as regards lumber—Canada lost millions by that treaty. It stimulated production among us to such an extent that the same description of lumber which, the year before it took effect, sold in the Buffalo market at from thirteen to fifteen dollars per thousand feet, paying one dollar duty, could not be disposed of in the same market at seven dollars per thousand three years after Reciprocity came into force." Lower, *North American Assault*, 146.

[28] James Bruce, Eighth Earl of Elgin, *Conditions and Prospects of Canada in 1854*, (Quebec, 1855), 17.

[29] Lower, *North American Assault*, 110.

Railways pushed into all sections of Upper Canada, generally meeting with better success than the Bytown and Prescott. The Trent River district was tapped by the Peterborough and Cobourg Railway, which tied it to the lake schooner system shipping to Oswego and New York. In the pre-railway period, Peterborough had shipped three to four million feet of lumber a year by water and wagon. In 1854, this leaped to twenty million feet, by railway.

The Midland, the Northern, the Buffalo and Lake Huron railways, all knitted Upper Canada into the American metropolitan pattern. From 1840, lake towing and schooner routes crisscrossed Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Fed by railways, Kingsville, Port Dover, Oakville, Toronto, Whitby, Cobourg, Port Hope and Kingston, termini of the lake shipping routes, developed into busy trading centres. Oswego was receiving annually two million feet of Upper Canadian timber in 1840; a decade later this had soared to sixty million feet. Oakville is a typical example of the fantastic growth stimulated by the new means of communication, 550,501 feet being exported in 1840, and 4,518,500 feet in 1850.[31] By 1853, no less than fifty-one ports in the Province of Canada were shipping at least one million feet of planks and boards each to the United States, with the unlikely centres of Burwell and Belleville leading the parade.[32] The most dramatic correlation of railway and lumbering is that of Simcoe County. A minor producer of lumber in 1850, the area was first tapped in 1853 by the Northern Railway, which pushed through to Collingwood in 1855. By 1861, Simcoe was the leading county in Upper Canada in lumber production.[33] "Whether tapping new areas of pine forests was the primary motive or not, when a railway was actually built, the result inevitably was a rapid growth in the number of saw-mills along it and a corresponding increase in shipment of lumber to the lake ports to which the railroad was tributary."[34]

---

[30] *Ibid.*, 111.

[31] *Ibid.*, 117.

[32] *Tables of the Trade and Navigation of the Province of Canada for the Year 1853* (Quebec, 1854).

[33] Lower, *North American Assault*, 119. Simcoe County produced 207,954,000 feet in 1861.

The railway boom represented a dramatic struggle between New York and Montreal for control of the trade of Upper Canada, and the routes to the West. Myriad lines on the north-south axis competed with the Grand Trunk for the riches of Upper Canada. In lumber, throughout the central area, the victory went to the Americans. But, at this time, it was a hollow victory, for the one area they could not drain with their railroads was the Ottawa Valley, the heart of the lumber community in Upper Canada.

The lumberman of legend, mackinaw-clad, hobnail-shod, this was the lumberjack of the Ottawa; the Spartan life of the camboose, the giant drive, the roistering plague of Quebec, this was the lumber community of the Ottawa. Lumbering in the Ottawa was unlike lumbering anywhere else in British North America. It was an almost completely professional trade, carried on by "a regular labour force which increasingly became differentiated from the rural population and came to constitute rather a part of an urban proletariat."[35] The lumberer was that, nothing else. Perhaps Professor Clark should have coined a new phrase, "rural proletariat". Quebec suffered under the lumberer's celebrating for a few summer weeks, Bytown for a few more in the early autumn. But the woods and the river were his life. His contacts with the outside world were few and tenuous but his relations with the farm population were equally distant. The lumber community of the Ottawa Valley was a world unto itself, proud, vigorous, vicious, recognizing no law but its own.

Lumbering came to the Ottawa Valley in 1804, with the establishment of the Meares and Hamiltons at Hawkesbury. Then, in 1806, from Hull, 'the father of the Ottawa', Philemon Wright, late of Woburn, Massachusetts, floated his first raft to Quebec. Soon the Rideau River was tapped by other Americans, Braddish Billings and William Marr, who sold their timber to Wright on the Ottawa. The Upper Canadian side of the Ottawa River, in Nepean Township, was first settled by Ira Honeywell, yet another emigrant from the United States.

It was not, however, until the canal era that the Valley really found itself. In 1825 the Lachine Canal eased passage along the St. Lawrence. Encouraged with sanguine hopes, Hull (at the time still called Wrightsville), grew from a population of 703 in 1820, to 1066 in 1828. In addition to three schools, four saw-mills and twelve lime-kilns, it now boasted two hotels, two distilleries, and a brewery.[36] Life was merry on the Ottawa in 1828! With the completion of the Rideau Canal in 1832, two great advantages accrued to the Valley. Not only were the timber lands along the Rideau linked into the Ottawa system, but a ready labour force was provided in the workers imported to build the canal. It is estimated that some two thousand Irish labourers joined the lumber community upon completion of the works.[37] A series of slides along the Ottawa River completed the system, making it a matter of only six weeks to drive from Bytown to Quebec.

---

[34] *Ibid.*, 118.

[35] S. D. Clark, *The Social Development of Canada* (Toronto, 1942), 210.

[36] A. H. D. Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present* (Toronto, 1927), 18-19.

American influences entered the Ottawa early. As we have seen, the early settlers were almost exclusively United States born, Wright at Hull, Honeywell in Nepean Township, Billings on the Rideau. It was an age of great stirrings in the United States. As the East filled up, ambitious young men set out seeking greener fields. Hardened in the stern school of frontier America, they were more likely to find what they sought in the wilderness of the Ottawa than were British emigrants. However, at this stage, their nationality made little difference. They could only centre their business on Quebec, not the United States. Direct American contact with the Valley came in 1835. New York had tied Lake Champlain into her system with the Champlain Canal in 1822. Then in 1835 the Richelieu Canal carried the line to the St. Lawrence. Nevertheless, little of the trade was tapped. Square timbering was the most simple and most profitable business for the lumbermen of the Ottawa, and square timber went through Quebec to Great Britain.

During the 1850's, when American railroad and timber interests eagerly turned their eyes to Canada, Bytown received more than its share of this attention. Relying on the square timber trade, Bytown had never become a mill town. But, soon after, Captain Levi Young of Maine built a saw-mill on the Canada West side of the river in 1851. Other Americans followed hard on his heels, among them O. H. Ingram, A. H. Baldwin, and the New York syndicate of Harris, Bronson, Perley, and Pattlee, all great names in the development of the lumber trade. In 1854, E. B. Eddy arrived in Bytown and began to build his empire of wood. The trade of the Ottawa was reorganized. The influx of the American capital created a great boom in the lumber community. T. C. Keefer, the great hydraulic engineer, marvelled at the prosperity in 1854. "I speak from experience when I say that I never saw elsewhere money more plentiful and the means of comfort more universally diffused than on the Upper Ottawa."[38]

As the experience of the Bytown and Prescott Railway showed, American railroad interest fared rather more poorly than American mill owners. A more realistic venture, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Grand Junction Railway confined itself to carrying supplies to the lumber community, and lived a healthy, if unspectacular, existence.

The new mills of the 1850's brought the Valley into the American board trade on a larger scale than previously. And even though sawn lumber continued a secondary industry as the trade in square timber boomed to new heights, its appearance was in the long run significant, in that it provided an alternative market for wood, preventing the Ottawa Valley from facing a crisis such as confronted New Brunswick when the square timber trade collapsed after 1865.

---

[37] Blodwen Davies, *Ottawa* (Toronto, 1954), 58.

[38] Lower, *North American Assault*, 109.

The importance of the lumber trade to the Ottawa Valley is difficult to over-stress. Almost everybody in the Valley was connected in some way or another with logging. Even the appearance of Bytown itself spoke of the debt it owed to the forests. "It is, in fact," wrote John Godley in 1844, "half a town and half a wood: the stumps are scattered through the gardens of the houses, and pine-trees through the streets, so that points of view might actually be selected in the middle of the town where you would lose sight of buildings altogether, and might fancy yourself in the primeval forest."[39] Firms like Egan and Company ruled the Valley. In 1855, this financial giant employed 3,800 men in 100 lumbering establishments. Seventeen hundred horses, 200 bullocks and 400 double teams were kept on the road for food and forage conveyance. This company also spent some $2,000,000 a year in its operations.[40]

The realization of this dependence upon the timber trade helped make relations between the lumbering and farming communities much easier than elsewhere in British North America. The forest completely dominated the Valley. The drainage basin of the Ottawa is some eight thousand square miles, of which only about one-eighth is arable. Furthermore, unlike Western Upper Canada, which lay directly in the path of agrarian settlement, the Valley was isolated, and offered few enticements to the settler. There the lumberman was the pioneer. The early inhabitants were quick to recognize that the region offered little future for agriculture, and they turned to the riches of the forest.

Yet, as lumbering became a major industry employing thousands of labourers, the demand for supplies became heavy. Despite unfavourable conditions, agriculture was stimulated. Farmers flocked along the paths cut by the timbermen. These were not the typical many-sided farmers of Upper Canada, but rather specialized businessmen, engaged in the work of feeding the lumber camps. The business was a steady and reliable one. Quite frequently, indeed, the lumberers themselves established farmers near their cuttings to produce supplies convenient to hand. Even when the lumbermen moved on, the markets did not immediately dry up. So poor was the soil farther north along the Ottawa that the farmers near the camps could not satisfy the demand. As the industry moved along, the farmers left in the rear would still join in the business. During the late 1840's, farmers of Carleton County still carried oats, hay, pork and butter to the camps, now on the Madawaska and Bonnechere, a trip of one to three weeks.[41]

---

[39] John Robert Godley, *Letters from America*, (London, 1844), I, 113.

[40] Charles Richard Weld, *A Vacation Tour in the United States and Canada* (London, 1855), 101-102.

[41] Lower, *Forest Frontier*, 46.

We can get some idea of the advantage to the farmer of the supply trade by comparing the prices of 1830, when this trade was just beginning to become important, and of 1880, when the camps had moved too far north for individual farmers to continue in the business. Whereas the price of wood increased from $1.00 to $5.00 a cord, of butter from 14c to 25c a pound, and of port wine from 80c to $2.75 a gallon in the fifty year interval, flour remained steady at $3.00 per hundredweight and pork dropped from $15.00 to $12.00 a barrel.[42] In other words, prices generally increased substantially between 1830 and 1880, except in those products farmers had sold, in the earlier period, for boom prices, to the lumbermen.

This attitute of cooperation, so strange in the relations of the farming and lumbering communities in British North America, began to break down after 1850. The Valley, within easy reach of the Quebec market, was becoming exhausted. Lumberers were anxious to seize whatever timber remained in the area, since the new saw-mills at Bytown could now cut second-grade wood for the United States market. To see the farmers burning trees on their property drove the lumbermen to frenzy. They purchased control, for the small Crown Land down-payment, of every available piece of land. When they had stripped the property of its timber, they allowed the option to lapse, considering their deposit well-invested. The farmers were just as anxious for the land. As the best public lands of Upper Canada began to fill up, the Ottawa Valley received an influx of settlers interested only in agriculture. Land control became an open war between the two communities.

With the breaking of the Tory government cliques with their commercial interests in the 1840's, the official attitude changed also. Sir Richard Bonnycastle typified the growing governmental hostility to the lumber trade. Of the Trent River district, where square timbering flourished, he remarked that it would soon be open to settlers but was "now known only to wretched lumbermen."[43] The failure to complete the Trent Canal he regarded as an unmitigated evil. "In short, had the Trent Canal been finished, instead of the miserable timber slides, which now encumber that noble river, another million of inhabitants would, in ten years more, have filled up the forests, which are now only penetrated by the Indians or the seeker after timber."[44]

As the duel of settler and lumberer went on, a harsh reality became obvious to all who would see. The forests of the Ottawa were not inexhaustible. Complaints of the settlers led to the whole question of preservation of the forests and classification of the land being raised by "The Select Committee Appointed to Examine and Report upon the Present System of Management of the Public Lands", set up by the Legislative

---

42. Haight, *op. cit.*, 107.
43. Bonnycastle, *op. cit.*, 235.
44. *Ibid.*, 236.

Assembly of the Province of Canada in 1854. After the breaking of the governmental cliques by the advent of Responsible Government, the exploiters were very definitely on the defensive, as the testimony before this committee shows. Like the Bytown *Gazette*, they pleaded for co-operation between lumberers and agriculturalists. "For our own part, we consider the country so obviously adapted for both pursuits, that its general welfare and individual prosperity would be overlooked were not both attended to . . . . These two classes mutually assist each other and both are deserving the thanks of their country."[45]

James Henry Burke of Bytown was the spokesman of the lumber community before the Select Committee. He too called for co-operation and division of the land into its proper functions. "We go in for keeping a fair line of separation between the lumbering and agricultural region, as nature has laid it down."[46] He defended the existing land grant system (so easily abused by lumbermen), and the domination of large areas by speculators. He ended with a rousing defence of the social position of the lumbermen. "The manufacturer of timber leads the backwoodsman into the interior where that lumbermen opens up for him a market . . . on the lumber trade then the farmer depends, and the settlement of the land upon the inducement given by the local market formed by timber making."[47] The agriculturalist, on the contrary, made no attempt at compromise. They had the votes, the country was theirs and they would have it. William Spragge of the Crown Lands Department held that "the sanctioning or tolerating (of) speculation in the public lands, and the accomplishing their actual settlement, are incompatible, the one with the other."[48] He proposed that a person buying Crown Land should be given only four months to settle that land. And a large percentage of the purchase price should be paid in advance, "to guard against the land being plundered of its timber, and then abandoned."[49]

Such opinions generally prevailed in Canada West. With most of her best land by now occupied or else controlled by speculators, the province found herself in a backwater of immigration. The flow of settlement swept by her to the Mid-Western United States. She felt her future was sorely threatened in this by-passing, for her only major industry was lumbering, universally regarded as a transient trade. New lands had to be opened, then, to attract settlers, and they had to be kept from the hands of exploiters. Roads were projected to Lake Nipissing, to the Magnetawan River, interlacing the north to open it for settlement. Unfortunately, the government frequently found that, "The parties most directly interested in the opening of roads appeared to desire them to be made rather for the purpose of getting out timber than for the sake of the soil."[50]

---

[45] Bytown *Gazette*, Thursday, November 2, 1843.

[46] Appendix to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislature of the Province of Canada, Session 1854-1855, Appendix MM, (Quebec, 1855).

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Ibid.*

All too little heed was paid to the arguments of John Henry Burke and the lumber community. Their interests were selfish, their behavior often unscrupulous, but their programme of land classification was sound. Unmoved, the government despatched surveyors to the area west of the Ottawa in 1855 and 1856. It was found eminently unsatisfactory for agriculture, and the surveyor, Walter Shanly, urged that it be turned over to lumbering, initially, which would provide an impetus to settlement.[51] But his words went in vain. Officials carried on their mad schemes of settlement, determined to turn all land to agriculture. Without classification of the land, tragedies such as struck the unhappy Germans brought to Renfrew in 1856, were all too prevalent.

The lumberman, perhaps even more than the agriculturalist, was the true pioneer of British North America. He pushed on ahead of the government, ahead of the farmer, opening the hinterland of Canada. But, in doing so, he became introverted. The lumber trade was not one designed to produce the clean-cut, all-round, all-Canadian personality. The lumberman spent from September to June in the woods, cutting and hauling the logs. Late June and July were occupied with the drive to Quebec. His only contacts with the outside world were during a few weeks in Quebec, spent in a whirl of drinking and wenching. Then the routine started all over again.

Even those not directly concerned with the cutting of timber were isolated. Bytown was a city living almost exclusively for the lumber trade. It was an island in the forest, kept afloat with wooden moorings. Even the lumber merchant, the great entrepreneur of Montreal or Quebec, lived and thought only for the trade. He was constantly alert for any alteration of the routine, an alteration which could spell ruin. Isolated, delicately-balanced, the lumber community was ultra-conservative.

This insularity, rule of habit and routine, and highly sensitive economic balance, manifested itself in the politics of the Ottawa Valley. Few papers in Upper Canada could have been more conservative than the *Gazette*, the voice of Bytown. Sir Francis Bond Head, the arch-rascal to liberal Canadians, carried an aura of divinity for the *Gazette*. When, in 1836, the Reformers attacked Bond Head, the paper rallied to his support. In a very businesslike commercial fashion, we see the *Gazette* asserting that placemen in the Legislature, like the employees of a firm, should owe their loyalty only to their employer.[52] An interesting political thesis! On Bond Head's departure in 1838, the *Gazette* rose to a pitch of loyalty and tearfully waved him adieu. "There are very few of our readers but will deeply regret that our excellent Lieutenant Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head is about to leave us."[53]

---

[50] *Ibid.*
[51] Lower, ***Forest Frontier***, 52.
[52] Bytown *Gazette*, Thursday, December 15, 1836.

The lumber community of Upper Canada was more concerned with the mechanics of the trade than its political and financial ramifications. The politics of the lumber trade remained primarily those of Montreal.[54] The Family Compact, unlike the Chateau Clique, was made up largely of landowners, not merchants. It was a social and political, rather than a commercial, alliance. But the incidental commercial interests of some members of the ruling group did align them with the lumber-kings of Montreal and Bytown and led to clashes, similar to, albeit less frequent than, the merchant-agriculturalist battles of Lower Canada. The public loans for canal building on the St. Lawrence in the 1820's were carried only against severe opposition.

Throughout the years the lumber community had little sympathy with the Reform cause. Their prosperity was firmly anchored upon the status quo. The lumbermen joined in William Lyon Mackenzie's dissatisfaction with the banking system, but for entirely different reasons than that radical. In November, 1836, the Ottawa Lumber Association called a meeting in order to demand greater bank capital for business expansion, to be readily available at Bytown. However, far from backing Mackenzie, who wished to curtail banking activity, they supported the bank laws he attacked. "The excuse the Banks made for not being able to afford the necessary accommodation is the want of capital; and in this view it is but fair that their application to the Legislature should be supported."[55] Mackenzie disturbed the lumber community again with the Seventh Report on Grievances. Its proposals for heavy duties on American grain, flour, and meal, along with other provisions posed the same threat as the Huskisson tariffs of 1825. The free trade area of the lakes was almost as important to the lumber community as the closed trading area of the Empire.

The defeat of Mackenzie was a victory for the trading interests. Having weathered this storm, the lumber community continued to rally to the defence of the profitable British connection. During the administration crisis of 1844, loyalty stirred in hearts throughout the Ottawa Valley. To the Reformers they thundered, "No, Gentlemen; we want no 'responsibility' such as you could offer us. There is more 'responsibility' on Metcalfe's finger, than in your whole body politic."[56]

Even with the collapse of the colonial system, the basic conservatism of the lumber community was little shaken. After it had vented its spleen in the Annexation Manifesto, it drew together once more to salvage what it could from the ruins. Reform, or liberalism, meant retrenchment, slackening of public works. Conservatism, on the contrary, stood for the expansion of business. Agriculture against commerce, the war was still fought out in the arena of politics. Politics meant, preeminently, economics. The chief enemy of lumbering was not Baldwin, not Lafontaine, but Hincks, the "Ancient Chiseler", the "Port Sarnia Monkey".[57]

---

[53] *Ibid.*, Wednesday, January 24, 1838.

[54] See. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians* (Toronto, 1955); Creighton, *op. cit.*

[55] The Bytown *Gazette*, Thursday, November 17, 1836.

[56] *Ibid.*, Thursday, April 4, 1844.

This thinking continued through Confederation. John A. Macdonald captured the imagination of the lumber community with his National Policy. While we obviously cannot draw too much from them, the election returns from lumbering areas demonstrate this feeling. Of eleven major lumber ridings in 1867, eight were carried by the Conservatives. The election of 1871 was even more decisive, ten of the eleven returning Conservatives or Conservative-Independents. Most of these constituencies had an amazing record of Conservative loyalty. Frontenac voted Tory from 1867 through 1891, Glengarry from 1867 to 1894, and Carleton from 1871 through 1914.[58]

Politically, then, lumbering was a stabilizing factor, firmly committed to the status quo. Socially, however, its effect upon the Ottawa Valley was traumatic. The first lumbermen on the Ottawa were French Canadians, apparently reasonably well-behaved and peaceable. "The French *habitans* make the best shanty-men; they are more cheerful and less likely to fight and quarrel, notwithstanding their evil propensities of card-playing and cock-fighting."[59] However, after the completion of the Rideau Canal and the draw of the lumber trade after that time upon the flow of immigration, Irish and Scots began to pour into the camps, replacing the French. The clash of racial groups, with employment rivalry urging them on, convulsed the Valley for a decade. The so-called "Shiners' War" was waged between 1837 and 1845 in the woods, along the slides and in the streets of Bytown. The term, 'Shiner', has been variously described as derived from 'cheneur' or 'oakman', the black silk hats 'shiners', worn by greenhorns arriving in Bytown, or from the newly-minted half crown coins with which the lumberers were paid. At any event, it became universally used of the Irish emigrants who flooded the Valley. Establishing themselves in the area of Bytown known as 'Cork Town', centred about the picturesque 'Mother McGinty's Tavern', the Shiners soon made their presence felt. The first recorded disturbance was on St. Patrick's Day, 1828, when an Englishman, Thomas Ford, clashed with a group of Irishmen, and was slain for his bravado.

"For nine or ten years these lawless fellows terrorized many peaceable citizens by such playful antics as going to an enemy's house, stripping the children of their clothing and making them run through the snowdrifts, scattering the furniture over a radius of a hundred yards, or blowing up the little home with gunpowder."[60] In 1837, matters came to a head. Irish immigration into the Valley was then at a peak. With the bank crisis of that year, a heavy rise in the cost of provisions and the general financial stability, jobs in the lumber camps were at a premium. The Irish determined to drive the French Canadians from the woods, and by 1845 had succeeded in doing so.

---

[57] *Ibid.*, Thursday, December 21, 1848.

[58] Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, *The Province of Ontario, A History*, (Toronto, 1927), II, 1323-1346.

[59] Samuel Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, (London, 1853), II, 285.

Three magistrates at Bytown, G. W. Baker, Daniel O'Connor, and Daniel Fisher graphically described the situation in a letter to the Provincial Secretary, dated January 28, 1837.

> "Bytown being the focus of the lumber trade, is frequented at all seasons by a great number of raftsmen, among whom are some desperate characters and others easily misled. This season in consequence of the extraordinary rise in the price of provisions, many men are out of employ, and others daily discharged and arriving here, some of them without any means of visible support. The inhabitants are dependant upon the lumber trade and upon these men, and cannot, therefore, be prevailed upon to act with energy against them.
>
> "Those constables who perform their duties are always marked out for punishment; John Perkins was first assaulted, then fired at, and at last an attempt was made to burn his house; John Dunn was waylaid at night, most severely beaten and kicked and his collar bone broken; John Mead was also severely beaten a few evenings since.
>
> "Last week an ox was stolen from the premises of Philemon Wright . . .
>
> "On the night of the 23rd inst. twenty-six sheep were stolen from a Canadian . . . . There is no clue to identify any of the burglars concerned, but we have every reason to suppose that said sheep were taken up the Gatineau River to the chantiers where the rioters . . . are employed.
>
> "Numerous wanton assaults are committed in the town and neighbourhood but the delinquents are either unknown or the sufferers afraid to appear against them."[61]

The citizens of the town were forced to unite in "The Association of the Preservation of the Public Peace in Bytown", a vigilante group. But even when the Irish had won their 'war', the disturbances did not end. Freed after long months in the bush, violence erupted whenever lumbermen were in Bytown. "Anything short of murder may be committed with impunity; and even murder has been allowed to pass comparitively unnoticed . . . ."[62]

This violent reaction to freedom was accentuated by the strict regimen of shanty life. In the early period of the trade, the shanty was an unruly haven of the 'rugged individual'. John McGregor, during the early 1830's, described a typical camp, with each lumberman enjoying a 'morning'—a drink of raw whiskey—before his breakfast.[63] However, as the timber business became ever more professional, employers could not afford to allow drunkeness and misbehavior among their men. The Earl of Elgin, writing in 1854, reported that, "For some years past, intoxicating liquors have been vigorously excluded from almost all of the chantiers (shanties) . . . and . . . the result of the experiment has been entirely satisfactory."[64] Indeed, the programme of rising with the sun, working till dusk in the woods and then wearily falling into a cot, left little time for licentious behavior by the professional lumberman. Joshua Fraser assures us that by 1883 there was "government and discipline in shanty life, just as pronounced and strictly carried out as in the most exemplary and well-regulated village, town or city corporation of the Dominion . . . ."[65]

---

[60] Ross, *op. cit.*, 113.
[61] Middleton and Landon, *op. cit.*, 917.
[62] Ottawa *Argus*, Wednesday, January 16, 1850.
[63] John McGregor, *British America*, (London, 1833), II, 494.

Small wonder, then, that the lumbermen, released from eight months of Spartan life, reacted like proverbial 'wild Indians'. When the drive began, all bedlam broke loose. Under its constant pressure and danger, nerves became taut. Tension was released in drink. "In the matter of scenting out and appropriating whiskey," the lumberman was "as keen as a weasel, as cunning as a fox, and as unscrupulous as a wolf."[66] And every few miles along the Ottawa were to be found taverns dispensing "rank vitrolized poison, under the name of good-whiskey."[67] As the drive swept by, farms near the river were terrorized. Langton reported of the raftsmen, "It is a hard and dangerous life but they are a light-hearted set of dare-devils and the greatest rascals and thieves withal that ever a peaceable country was tormented with. Hen roosts have quite disappeared from the river side and lambs and little pigs have to be kept under lock and key."[68]

The lumbermen struck Quebec like a cyclone. Having safely delivered their rafts, they received their wages in a lump sum. In the terms of Canada of that time, this was an immense amount of money—perhaps £30.[69] They squandered it all on "the fiddle, the female, or the fire-water."[70] Writers of the period delighted in describing the summer roisterings of the colourful woodsmen. John McGregor, at Quebec in 1833, viewed the arrival of the lumbermen. "After selling and delivering up their rafts, they pass some weeks in idle indulgence, drinking, smoking and *dashing off* in a long coat, flashy waistcoat and trousers, Wellington or Hessian boots, a handkerchief of many colours round the neck, a watch with a long tinsel chain and numberless brass seals, and an *umbrella*."[71] The Rev. A. W. H. Rose followed the raftsman to the end of his summer. "He . . . buys a gay suit of clothes, seldom forgetting a particularly smart waistcoat, brushes up ad libitum, and 'sets up for a gentleman,' too often indulging in a life of low debauchery, till his cash is gone, his health perhaps shaken; he parts with his gay apparel, if it has not been already destroyed in some drunken row, shoulders his axe, and sets off again to the wilderness penniless, if not, moreover, in debt."[72] It is no surprise, then, that they constituted a rural proletariat, returning to the woods year after year; few could afford to do anything else.

---

[64] Elgin, *op. cit.*, 82.
[65] Joshua Fraser, *Shanty, Forest and River Life in the Backwoods of Canada* (Montreal, 1883), 26.
[66] *Ibid.*, 112.
[67] *Ibid.*, 331.
[68] Langton, *op. cit.*, 206.
[69] Godley, *op. cit.*, 115.
[70] Bonnycastle, *op. cit.*, 70.
[71] McGregor, *op. cit.*, 496.

Under such conditions, the Ottawa Valley attracted far more than her share of violence and unrest, and even, despite its essential conservatism, of political unrest. On September 17, 1849, Reformers and Tories clashed in Bytown over an address to Lord Elgin on the Rebellion Losses Bill. In the riot, known as "Stormy Monday", one man was slain and twenty more injured. But a brawl could start more easily over an insult, a racial slur, or even a mud splash, than politics. From the mid-1830's, religious disorders troubled the Valley. With the significant increase of the Roman Catholic population, due to Southern Irish immigration, anti-Catholicism became militant. Aggressive Orange Lodges sprang up in every major town, and St. Patrick's Day invariably was marked by violence, to be repaid with interest on July 12.

We thus must disagree with S. D. Clark's generalizations upon the social conditions of Upper Canada. He tells us, "Political unrest was symptomatic of disturbances extending through the entire range of the pioneer society of Upper Canada . . . The failure of the rural inhabitants to secure cultural status combined with their failure to secure political status."[73] He speaks, too, of Upper Canada as an "agrarian frontier."

The social problems of Upper Canada were far from uniform, and most definitely not exclusively those of an agrarian frontier. The Ottawa was a frontier, but a commercial frontier. Clark has not distinguished between the frontier and rural areas in his generalizations. The "agrarian frontier" of which he speaks was rather the middle area of the province, for example, the Home and Midland districts, where discontent was settled in the Rebellion of 1837. In the Rebellion, the two true frontier areas, the Huron Tract, and the Ottawa Valley, were almost completely quiescent. Commercial prosperity, rather than 'cultural status' or the lack thereof, was the only potent political consideration in the Ottawa frontier.

The Ottawa was a commercial frontier, just as, in the initial stage of their development, most Canadian areas were. Due to geographical immensity and difficulty, the pattern of growth in Canada was fairly uniform: first came the exploiting business pioneers, operating on an itinerant basis; then the government, seeking to encourage settlement and organizing the territory; and, finally, the sedentary settlers, usually agriculturalists. Such has been the pattern throughout the age of the fur trade, the era of the lumber trade, that of the railway, and, today, of the mining and petroleum industries.

---

72. (A. W. H. Rose) A Pioneer of the Wilderness, *The Emigrant Churchman in Canada*, (London, 1849), 3.

73. Clark, *op. cit.*, 215.

As to the question of cultural or social status, this had but little bearing upon the Ottawa Valley. The frontiersman did not seek social status—there was none to be had. There was only nationality and skill. It was only with a degree of affluence, creating a desire for more, that the psychology of which Professor Clark speaks came into play.

By Confederation, however, this picture of the brawling king of the Ottawa was beginning to alter. The lumber community had been the heart, the very life, of the Valley. It opened the area, it fed it, it nurtured its towns and its farms. But by 1867 the ungrateful children were rebelling against their wooden mother. 'Twas ever thus. Inevitably, the Ottawa could not escape the struggle for land control, the war of merchant and farmer which did so much to retard Canada's growth.

Yet, with what we have seen, we must agree with Professor Lower that, "Undoubtedly the forest has been, if not the prime determinant, at any rate a major determinant in North American life."[74] The significance of the lumber community for the life of British North America is difficult to over-estimate. In two areas, New Brunswick and the Ottawa Valley, all life rotated about it. It has been estimated that during the Napoleonic Wars, seventeen out of every twenty citizens of New Brunswick were dependent upon the lumber trade,[75] while in the Ottawa Valley, by 1864, some 25,000 men were engaged in lumbering.[76] For Lower Canada and central Upper Canada, the difference between subsistence and prosperity was often lumber. In New Brunswick and the Ottawa, the difference was between life and death.

Lumbering created a whole new society; it opened the doors for industry. By 1861, Upper Canada could boast 15 axe and edge-tool factories, 33 plants producing sashes and doors, 41 shingle factories, 11 match factories, and 143 plants described as producing "cabinet ware".[77] All these industries were directly created by the lumber trade. Not only did timbering produce the raw materials which these trades used, but it lured capital into the country, capital which was the lifeblood of the entire economy of British North America.

Politically, the lumber community led the defence of the status quo. It stood against Responsible Government, to protect the colonies' invaluable links with London, and its powerful ties with St. John, Quebec and Toronto. When this world crashed down about it between 1844 and 1849, the lumber community proved the vigour of its frontier background and the cunning of its metropolitan basis. It accepted Responsible Government on its own terms in New Brunswick, and helped found a new, powerful Conservative party in Canada.

---

[74] Lower, *North American Assault*, 27.

[75] W. S. MacNutt, "The Politics of the Timber Trade in Colonial New Brunswick" *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXI, March 1949, 47-65.

[76] Samuel Phillips Day, *English America* (London, 1864), 228.

[77] Lower, *North American Assault*, 144.

Socially, it made its own world. In the timber lands, there was no law but that of the lumber community. Each spring it loosed its unruly mobs on the outside communities, and, drawing life from these demi-savages, the communities could only bear the curse. Legislation could not reform the lumber communities, as New Brunswick found with her ill-fated prohibitory laws of 1856.[78] As in all matters, the lumbermen imposed controls upon themselves only when the interests of business dictated. Their politics and their morals, both were formed in the mold of commerce.

The lumber community does not present an attractive picture. It was avaricious, uncultured, foolhardy, vicious. It was a society organized for only one purpose—material gain. But wherever it went in British North America, it left its mark. The mark was not always a pretty one. Yet, the wealth it produced, the industry it attracted, and the frontiers it opened, make the lumber industry one of the fountainheads of Canadian civilization.

---

[78] In 1856 the New Brunswick Legislature passed a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture or sale of liquor. An election was called on the issue, and the lumber interests, deeming liquor essential in the woods, returned an Assembly which repealed the bill. See, James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick*, Vol. II.

REPORTS FROM THE SOCIETIES

The annual dinner meeting of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society was held in historic Drummond Hill Presbyterian Church, when members were addressed by Mrs. Marjorie Freeman Campbell, author of *Niagara: Hinge of the Golden Arc*. In the past year the Society held ten meetings, and reports a twenty per cent increase in membership. The Society presented awards of Society membership and $5.00 to the student in each Stamford Township Collegiate who took highest marks in Canadian History. This is a most commendable plan for encouraging a youthful interest in our history.

Bruce County Historical Society announces the reprinting of Norman Robertson's *The History of the County of Bruce*. Copies may be obtained from their Secretary for $5.20 which includes postage. The Society continues to issue its *Bruce Historical Notes* and hopes shortly to bring out the *Notes* at regular intervals.

The third annual report of the Hastings County Historical Society tells of another successful year's activities, with membership standing at 120. The Society again had a display at the Belleville Fair, and is actively collecting historical material in anticipation of establishing a permanent museum in the near future. Three general meetings were held during the past year and the Society has been much encouraged by the widespread popular interest shown in the history of their area.

Oxford Historical Society held four meetings in the past year, including a joint session with Embro and West Oxford Women's Institute. Interesting programmes featuring guest speakers and light refreshments have drawn increasingly large attendance at these meetings, and the Society which was reorganized in the autumn of 1957 is justifiably gratified with the progress it has made in this short time.

The active Lennox and Addington Historical Society reports three meetings held last year, and numerous visits of school groups to its museum which was opened in 1956. The Society is continuing its programme of making recordings of interviews with elderly citizens and of special events such as cornerstone layings and historic plaque unveilings.

Mr. Macaulay Pope, U.E., President of the Governor Simcoe Branch of the United Empire Loyalists Association reports a good attendance at each of the nine meetings held by the Branch in the past year.

Lambton County Historical Society which is still in the organizing stage saw the fulfillment of three years' concentrated effort when its Oil Museum of Canada was opened on July 1 at Oil Springs.

In addition to holding five well-attended meetings the Ancaster Township Historical Society sponsored a booth and museum display at the 1959 International Ploughing Competition at Peter's Corners.

The Macnab Historical Association, with a membership of 150 held its meeting at Foleyet last year.

London and Middlesex Historical Society had another busy year, with a seventy per cent increase in membership. Seven meetings were held on a monthly basis, with an average attendance of 75. The Society's two museums—Victoria House and Eldon House—were publicized through the medium of television. Although the Society issued no publications in 1959 a publications committee is planning to produce parts of several papers as finances permit.

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY FORMS OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION IN ONTARIO*

By John I. Rempel

Part I

The log cabin or log house has always been associated with the life of the early settlers of Ontario. A few attempts have been made to study an apparent historical fact, but they have never been carried out to any extent. Scattered bits of information have been available for a long time and this is probably more a matter of relating such facts rather than of original study. One reason why so comparatively little has been done in this respect is the fact that a house is such an integral part of living that we cannot see the trees for the proverbial forest. We have a fair amount of literature available on the "Kings and Queens" of houses, but the poor man's home has always been the Cinderella in history without the expected happy ending. To most of us, a log house is a log house, and nothing more need to be said about it.

Another reason for so much neglect is that it is only of late that our collective historical conscience has begun to stir. It seems that there is a much greater appreciation of things historical in Ontario than there ever was before. Witness the many local museums being opened up; the Government's more active policy of preserving our meagre historical remnants in the form of dwellings, saw mills, barns, cemeteries, etc.; the greater activity of many local historical associations of various kinds and a general increase in value and appreciation of the common, little things of everyday life which make up our history. Today, in addition to the study of historical events of the text book, we study that vast natural force of a people behind such events, without which no true history could ever be written. Today, we endeavour to find the very roots of this force and attempt to discover its strength or weakness. We attempt to reconstruct all the little things of everyday life because this was their life which in turn was the expression of the social, economic or moral conditions of their time. In order to do this we have to study what, at times, seem to be rather trivial details. At least on the surface, they may appear to be so.

The late Dr. C. W. Jefferys has done a considerable amount of research on the history of everyday life in Canada. Anyone who was fortunate enough to have come to know him personally or, even more

---

* *Editor's note*: This is the first part of a two-part article. The second installment will contain a number of illustrations, some of which will clarify points in Part I. The original manuscript, which is deposited with the Ontario Archives, contains a list of reference books which is omitted here, and also contains thirteen line drawings and seventy photographs. Reproduction costs have made it impossible to print more than a small selection of these illustrations.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 4.

so, to have had the opportunity of observing him at his work, will know with what meticulous care he treated every least detail. But then, Dr. Jefferys was that rare combination of artist and historian which fuses the scientist's desire for truth with the observing eye of a true artist. What is badly needed at the present moment is an architecturally trained historian who will take it upon himself to write an architectural history of the Province of Ontario. The Province of Quebec, which has a history several hundred years older than that of Ontario, has had such a history published by the late Professor Ramsey Traquair. This volume, *The Old Architecture of Quebec* (Toronto, 1947) is a wonderful contribution to the literature on Quebec Architecture and Arts. We have reached a point in our national growth where the energy and time spent in producing such work for Ontario would be quite justifiable and certainly most desirable. We have a few very capable men in the Province who are quite able to do justice to such an assignment but, unfortunately, the demand of business on their time does not permit them to undertake a work of such magnitude. In the meantime, until somebody comes along to do the work properly, the following study is an attempt in a small way to contribute a few thoughts and facts on the beginning of an architectural history of our Province.

Architecture is a natural growth. Architectural form and expression is directly related to the contemporary social, economic and political life of a people; to its industrial development and its standard of living; to its geography and climate. It is a natural solution of the structural and aesthetic problems of the day. If a new form of architectural expression does not rest on a natural basis, if it is not a new shoot off the parent stem, it will wither and die. Any artificial form of architecture which does not bear any relation to the natural development of a people in all its phases, becomes an anachronism, which, if it persists, in turn becomes ridiculous, a sham and without meaning. Therefore, any form of architecture should never be studied out of context.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the log cabin in the United States had become almost a national symbol, a symbol of the American frontier and of American expansion. It became a sentimental sort of thing which, in the public eye, gave American history a romance all its own. It became the "all-American" house. In order to prove himself a true-blooded American, a politician had to be able to trace his ancestry back to the old log house. This is the oft-referred-to "log cabin myth" in American history. That this concept was completely erroneous, we shall see later. As a matter of fact, there was nothing American about it except the trees from which the cabins were built.

To the Swedish and German settlers, this form of construction was a natural solution because they were quite familiar with such building methods. The Irish, probably due to their lack of a strong building tradition, were the next nationality to adopt this form. However, according to some authorities it was not the actual Irish who so readily adopted the log cabin, but the so-called "Scotch-Irish". These were the transplanted Presbyterian Scots of the Ulster counties of Northern Ireland who lived on the lands of the expelled Catholic Irish. Living in a hostile country, rehabilitating farms and fighting off native attacks made these people ideal pioneer material. The Woollens Act of 1699, and the expiration of the tenant leases after 1717 hastened the emigration movement to America. By 1720-1730 emigration was a major industry in Northern Ireland when as many as six thousand poured into America in one year. Being of an intensely independent spirit, they pushed past the more settled parts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas and became the squatters along the new western frontier. It was they who finally adopted the log house and "Americanized" it. Thus, the log house finally gained its present reputation as "the cradle of the American Home" only about one hundred years after its introduction into America.

The English were the last ones to succumb to the log cabin vogue. The reason, of course, is obvious because a great many British were probably familiar with the great works of the architects during England's most prominent period of its architectural history. They had a deep-seated respect for traditional forms and methods, therefore, it was only natural that they should cling to some of their traditions, since that was one factor which gave them stability in an otherwise strange land.

We must, of necessity, dwell at some length on the history and development of the log house in the United States since the log house of Upper Canada was a direct descendant from that in New England. By 1812, the population in Upper Canada had reached the 80,000 mark and since roughly 70,000 were "Americans" by birth or descent, we must assume the origin of the log house was south of the present border, especially so since log construction was completely foreign to English craftsmen. This form of construction was, however, a common method of building in Russia, Scandinavia, and certain parts of Germany or Switzerland. The Swedish did not settle in America until after 1638 and Germans only after 1710, but the main stream of immigrants was from the British Isles, and these people brought their own form of construction with them which was timber-framed houses. By now it is a generally accepted historical fact that, contrary to popular belief, the first houses of the early settlers in America were frame rather than log.

In spite of this, however, the oldest remaining forms of timber construction in England suggest some form of log construction but of a vertical rather than horizontal nature. Probably the oldest existing timber building in England is a little church in Essex dating back to about 1015. This church has walls of vertical oak timbers set into a horizontal sill. From vertical timbering, it is but one step to the Yorkshire form of "cruck" construction. The crucks were oaks suitably twisted by nature. The trunks were cleared of branches. Next, they were split in half the long way. The halves were then set upright with the bends opposed to form an arch similar to the ribs of an inverted ship's hull. Several such arches were set side by side, some distance apart, joined with purlins, roofed over and walled in, and in very short order the house or barn could be completed. In the better type of house or barn, the spaces between the timbers and crucks were filled with brick-work in a similar manner to that of the later half-timber work.

An interesting theory has been advanced by some writers in England about the size of an early English cottage. The inside dimensions of sixteen feet by fifteen feet is encountered frequently enough to be of significance to some researchers. The theory is that this modular dimension is based on the space required for one yoke of oxen. The outside dimensions of such a cottage would be about seventeen by eighteen feet. Although this theory is not generally accepted in England, the dimensions are significant because we encounter somewhat the same ones very frequently in our log cabins.

It is interesting to note that cruck construction was never attempted either in America or Canada. Two buildings, however, have been reconstructed in this manner at Jamestown, Virginia. One is a cottage and the other the "Glass House"—the earliest glass factory in the English colony. An explanation of this method of construction is supposedly found in the writing of Captain John Smith. "This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets". Apparently the term "cruck" was in general use at this time and Captain Smith's "cratchets" was probably as much a mispronounciation as the "linter" or "trunnel" of the later pioneer. From cruck construction to timber framing is just one step. It should be noted however, that in the above construction methods in the final analysis, the load is carried by vertical timbers, i.e., the stress is with the grain. In log construction, the load is carried by logs in a horizontal position which places the stress across the grain. This reversal of a basic structural principle is found only in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Switzerland and Russia.

The French "en colombage"[1] construction is a combination of both, but the English never accepted this form. Why this was never done in Ontario is a matter of conjecture, and one explanation is about as good as another.

Cornering was always a problem in horizontal log construction and vertical timbering would certainly have simplified this. However, it would have made the spanning over an opening more difficult unless the opening was carried up to the under side of the top plate. Suffice it to say that since horizontal timbering was not indigenous to England, we must look for its origin elsewhere, and this can very easily be traced back through the United States to the countries mentioned above.

---

[1] French "Colombage" construction was basically the same as English "half-timber" except that it was generally covered with some protective sheathing. The spaces between the uprights were often filled with rubble work, in which case it was called "Colombage Pierotte". In Canada the colonists frequently notched the uprights and slid short logs horizontally into the spaces between the posts which made it a combination log and colombage construction. See Ramsey Traquair, *Old Architecture of Quebec* (Toronto, 1947), 15, 16, and C. W. Jefferys, *Picture Gallery of Canadian History* (3 vols., Toronto, 1943), I, 82.

We can, however, detect a certain similarity in fenestration and proportion between the log house and that of the Georgian house of Britain or the Colonial house of New England. And rightly so, because the window glass came from England, the window frames and sash were made in a mill employing English carpenters, and an English immigrant would unconsciously attempt to reproduce a house as he knew it. Therefore, we may assume that the log house combines certain of the structural principles of the Continent with the traditional proportions and design of Britain. It is a merging of the national structural and aesthetic forms of various nationalities into a truly New World, "All-American" house in the full sense of the word.

For the benefit of the reader, we should make a distinction between half-timber and frame construction. A popular misconception identifies both as having about the same meaning. This is not so. Architecturally, there is a considerable difference. The framework as a skeleton may be basically the same but that is where the similarity ends. In half-timber work, the spaces between the posts and girts were filled with brick work and, on rare occasions, with wood. This latter form was probably more a French influence. Such filled panels were also recessed slightly from the face of the timbers, thus exposing the timbers directly to the weather.

In frame construction, the timbers were not as heavy and spaced more closely. Such spaces need not necessarily be filled. If they were filled, such fill or "nogging" consisted of brick or stone in clay mortar. In the earlier forms the fill was in the nature of the English "wattle-and-daub" construction. This was a sort of basket weave of hazel rods against which mud would be thrown to form the filling. The outside of frame buildings was invariably covered with either stucco or, what is commonly known as clapboard. Paul Revere's house in Boston is supposed to have been built originally as a half-timber house, but as the timbers dried out and the wood shrank away from the brick filling, it became so draughty that it had to be covered with clapboards for better protection from the weather.

There was a house near Woodbridge, Ontario, which showed a decided improvement on this type of construction. It was so badly damaged during hurricane Hazel in 1955 that it was condemned by the town, and had to be demolished. During the process of demolition, certain rather interesting structural innovations were discovered. The most interesting of all was the fact that it was basically, a combination of all the good features of both, half-timber and frame construction. The vertical timbers were six inches square, spaced approximately four feet apart. The spaces between were filled with brick laid in mortar made with clay from local clay beds in a near-by creek, and mixed with straw. In addition, the inside of the spaces were lined with solid one-and-one-half inch thick planks. The inside face was covered with one-half inch thick split pine board lath and finally plastered. The outside was first covered with sheathing one full inch in thickness, with clapboard outside of that. As a matter of fact, this house was so solid that, although it was two full storeys in height and up to the eaves under the wild torrents of an overflowing Humber River, to the surprise of everybody concerned, it never left its foundation.

Harold Shurtleff in his book, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Harvard, 1939), proves very conclusively that the earliest forms of construction in America were either frame or half-timber. He also produces very well-documented proof that, although log construction was introduced into the United States as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, that it was a cheaper and speedier type of construction requiring fewer tools and less skill, nevertheless, the English did not adopt this form until the eighteenth century. If they did build a log house, it was generally considered only a stop gap until they could afford a better one, and this was usually a stone, brick or frame house.

The expanding frontier of the eighteenth century finally adopted the log house as the most satisfactory solution to the shelter problem of the early settler. It was this last factor which led to the so-called "log cabin myth" which is the popular misconception that all true Americans were born in a log cabin. It was only after the settlements became more established and stabilized with good roads, industry and transportation, that this form of construction gave way to frame, stone or brick.

In 1638, "New Sweden" was founded by the Swedish West India Company on Delaware Bay. Swedish log construction, due to their long history and experience with this type of building, provided a much more comfortable house than the contemporary English frame. There are some detailed accounts of travellers in 1679 which are very positive in their assertions of the superiority of the Swedish house over that of the English, the Swedish one being much warmer and not as draughty. This agrees with John Langton's statement to the same effect as we shall see later. Swedish log construction has the ends of the logs projecting on all four corners of the wall. Later such corners were at times cut off flush with an axe rather than a saw. Logs could be either squared or round. The squared type led to so-called plank construction. There is no definite line of demarcation between squared log and plank construction. If the logs were more than six inches in thickness, they were called log houses, if less than that, they were often referred to as plank houses. In Ontario, there are three different types of construction which are commonly called plank construction, although the methods are quite different. The first one referred to as plank houses has squared log walls of from three to eight inches in thickness, probably with no other covering, at least on the outside. The logs are set with the width vertically one above the other. The second type has walls built up out of planks two inches by six inches laid horizontally one above the other and spiked securely. In some cases the planks may be slightly offset alternatively to form a key for the plaster. The outside has sheathing of some kind and on the inside the face of the wall is plastered. Pauline Johnson's home near Brantford is an example of such construction. The third type consists of a heavy frame something in the style of the early half-timber house, except that the posts are set much farther apart. The space between the plate and the sill is next filled with planks about one and one-half inches thick, set upright, similar to the inside plank partition of early houses. The outside face is either sheathed or "rough-cast" and the inside plastered. The thickness of the wall itself is so slight that the posts will project into the room. At times, even the plate will show in the second floor. An excellent example of this type is the Allison home in Adolphustown built about 1826 or earlier.

The workmanship of the Swedish carpenters was first class. There is a house in Prospect Park, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, which was owned by John Morton, signer of the Declaration of Independance. It was built in 1654 with an addition in 1698, both of plank wall construction. The fitting of the planks is so well done that there appears to have been no necessity for chinking or daubing.

In 1710, Germans from Bavaria, Saxony and Switzerland began to settle in Pennsylvania. These people knew as much about log construction as did the Swedish, consequently we may expect such immigrants to continue their native method of construction. Logs were either round or squared as in the Swedish method, except that at the corners the logs were keyed or dove-tailed which permitted a flush corner rather than having the ends of the logs projecting. The interstices were wide enough to require chinking with wedges of wood as well as clay or lime mortar. These are the major differences between Swedish and German log construction. There is a well preserved example of a squared log house at Potter's Bank, Center County, Pennsylvania. The logs are keyed with a type of wedge-shaped saddle-notch and the chinking consists of lime mortar with small wedges of wood as fill. Identically, the same type of keying has been duplicated in a school house built in 1820 in Waterloo County, Ontario and a perfect example of this method of chinking may be seen in the old C. Stong home near Edgeley built in 1830. Needless to say, Waterloo County was settled by Pennsylvania "Dutch" and that the C. Stongs were "Holland" Dutch.

References to log houses in the records of the seventeenth century are few although frame houses are mentioned quite frequently. There is an agreement in existence written in 1651-2 by an owner of a saw mill to supply boards at three shillings per hundred. This need not necessarily mean frame houses only. The *Early Records of Londonderry* (Manchester, N.H., 1908) are more specific. In 1724, the town voted that there shall be "a school house built in this town, the dimension of said house is to be sixtine foot long and twelve foot Brenth. Said house is to be a logg house seven foot side wall." The seven-foot side wall would indicate a seven log height.

At times the word "cabin" was used which would indicate generally an inferior or smaller type of log house. The county court of Botetourt County, Virginia, on April 11, 1770, voted: "The court doth appoint . . . to agree with a workman to build a log cabbin twenty four feet long and twenty wide for a Court House with a clapbord roof with two small sheds, one at each end for jury rooms". Two points should be noted. First the use of clapboard for roofing. It could mean some sort of shingles or literally clapboarding as we understand it today. This was not a general rule however. Second, the plan of this court house is worthy of note, because John Galt's log cabin and office was built in this same manner, namely a central portion with two wings, one on either end.

In his *Journal of a Tour into the Territories Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains* (1803) Thaddeus M. Harris states, "If the logs be hewed, if the interstices be stopped with stone and neatly plastered, and if the roof is composed of shingles nicely laid on, it is called a log house. A log house has glass windows and a chimney; a cabin has generally no windows and only a hole in the roof for the smoke to excape".

One further type of cabin should be mentioned. These are the slave cabins, especially in the southern states, because we have some references to this type in Ontario. These cabins were invariably very small with the chimney entirely outside the end wall. There are examples in Maryland where the cabins have a stone fireplace with a brick top, or they have a "catted" clay chimney as some examples in Virginia show. This form of construction was so different from that in Ontario, where the chimneys were almost invariably on the inside of the end wall, that it called for a special mention from an observer travelling in Ontario in 1835. However, this type of chimney must have been fairly common in America not only for slave cabins. Lincoln's cabin, although considerably moved about the country and finally given a resting place in Hodgenville, Kentucky, in a somewhat shortened and narrowed form, is eleven logs high, of squared log walls and an outside log and clay chimney. The restored cabins of old Fort Harrod near Harrodsburg, Kentucky, also show the same type of outside chimney. The bottom half is clay, the top either catted or timber and clay. The restored soldiers' cabins of Washington's camp at Valley Forge also have the same outside log and clay chimneys. This is, of course, not too surprising because plaster and wood chimneys were a common form of construction in England until the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was only in 1419 that this type of chimney was abolished in London, England by by-law. It certainly must have persisted in the country for a considerably longer time, and was thus quite familiar to the early settler, especially to those coming from rural England.

Aside from introducing log construction into America, we in Ontario do not need to concern ourselves too much with Swedish influence because by the end of the eighteenth century, when a great many "Americans" moved into Canada, Swedish influence was either greatly modified, or the settlers came from districts where it had never been too strong. Our settlers were mainly of English, Scotch, Irish or German origin and these groups were never influenced too strongly by it. Certainly the Swedish plan never took hold with this group. A typical Swedish plan was of the usual one, two or three-room type. The fireplace was almost invariably in a corner. If the house contained more than one fireplace, they were placed separately and probably never back-to-back. Doors were low and wide and the roof was a gable roof. Both characteristics, however, are not peculiar to the Swedish plan only. We certainly have no examples of this type of fireplace location in Ontario except in later houses.

Along the Hudson and the Delaware rivers, Swedish and Dutch architectural forms were well developed when the English moved in. Along the Hudson, Dutch influence was particularly strong with the resultant modifications of colonial architecture. There is, however, considerable influence of "Pennsylvania" architecture in some parts of Ontario, and it is very difficult at times to distinguish "Pennsylvania" influence because of the varied architecture prevalent in the particular sections from which the various groups came. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania was settled by Swedes, Dutch, Finns, Welsh, Scotch-Irish, and Germans in addition to English Quakers. German-speaking colonists were the strongest group among these, especially around Philadelphia. Here they came in contact with well-established Swedish architecture as well as English colonial practices. This mingling of German, Swedish and English forms gradually led to the so-called "Pennsylvania-Dutch" style. Pennsylvania-German is historically more correct because the word "Deutsch" was gradually perverted into "Dutch" which attached itself to these German settlers and they have been called this ever since. This varied background makes it very difficult to establish definitely "Pennsylvania" influence, except in clear-cut instances like the Waterloo school and the Woodbridge house as far as keying is concerned and the plan of the Stong house at Edgeley as a typical plan.

Until the end of the seventeenth century the English house was generally one room in depth with end chimneys, while on the continent the rooms clustered around one central chimney. Some historians claim that the greatest change in British building methods came about when the Colonial builders combined several flues into one central chimney thus utilizing more heat. A typical "Pennsylvania" plan had one room occupying the full width of the front half of the house. This room was the hall and kitchen combined. The fireplace was centrally located on the inside wall. The stairway was located in either the left or right front corner. Behind the kitchen were one or two rooms. Of the two rooms in the rear, one was the living room and the other the bedroom. If the house contained two fireplaces, they were frequently back-to-back. In some sections where there was a general merging of the various building traditions, one may find a typical Dutch plan with a Swedish corner fireplace in one wall and a Colonial one placed centrally in another wall.

"Pennsylvania" houses were of one and one-half or two full storeys in height and built of either logs, brick or stone. If they were of log construction they were frequently of plank form with the typical "Pennsylvania" keying. Such houses were invariably of excellent workmanship, rather larger than the average house and of a solidity typical of that nation. Dovetailing was used as well. The three log houses at Edgeley are examples of definite plan types, the Smith home, a typical English colonial; the C. Stong home, a Pennsylvania-German plan and the E. Stong has the typical Dutch architectural feature of having the gable at the front of the house irrespective of the proportion of the plan.

That the number of log houses probably equalled the number of any other type of house in some States is shown by the United States' Farm-Housing Survey made in 1939. According to this survey, there were approximately 270,000 log dwellings in use in that year. In some counties, these amounted to almost one-half of all the houses listed. In Halifax County, Virginia, 42% of the dwellings were log; in Albany County, Wyoming, 48.8%.

SCHEMES FOR THE TRANSPLANTING OF REFUGEE AMERICAN NEGROES FROM UPPER CANADA IN THE 1840's

By John K. A. Farrell

Dr. Thomas Rolph and Mr. Peter Gallego are two names which cross a little known page in Canadian history. Their small amount of fame is connected with two schemes to transplant large numbers of American Negro ex-slaves from their haven in Upper Canada to the British West Indies. Peter Gallego sought to turn his fellow Negroes to Jamaica; while Thomas Rolph sang the praises of Trinidad as the logical home of the refugee slaves.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, certainly after the War of 1812, Negro slaves from the United States made their way in ever increasing numbers to the British colonies in the north. In Upper Canada, they settled in communities in various parts of the province: Toronto, Owen Sound, St. Catharines's, London, Chatham, Colchester, Amberstburg, Sandwich. Clearly, the southern peninsula of Upper Canada enjoyed high favor with the refugees as a place of location. By the 1840's, Chatham was one of the principal Canadian terminals of the Underground Railroad.

How many Negroes were in Upper Canada at this time is open to speculation. Canada's first census was held in 1850. This official document lists 2,502 male Negroes and 2,167 female Negroes.[1] In a footnote, however, in the same volume on page 37, the Census admits to a certain confusion on the subject by stating, "there are about 8,000 colored persons in Western Canada." At the same time, a Negro newspaper published in Sandwich, *The Voice of the Fugitive* estimated that in 1850 the number of Negro refugees in Canada West (as Upper Canada had become) totalled anywhere between 25,000 to 30,000 persons.[2] Completing the evidence both Benjamin Drew, a Quaker abolitionist interested in the refugee Negro in Canada, and Canada's Anti-Slavery Society computed the Negro population in Canada West also at 30,000 people.

Since by 1850, the total population of the United Canadas was around 1,842,265 people, one can see that by the mid-century the Negro minority in Canada was substantial. Dr. Thomas Rolph, himself, judged that the Negro population of Upper Canada in 1843 was around 20,000 with considerable annual increases of more fleeing slaves. All the ingredients were present for a very interesting inter-racial situation.

Mr. Gallego and Dr. Rolph claimed that one of their main motives in encouraging the refugee Negro to re-settle in the British West Indies sprang from the amount of prejudice which the Negro encountered in

---

[1] *Canada Census, 1851*, Vol. I, 317.

[2] *The Voice of the Fugitive*, Vol. I, No. 11, May, 1851, p. 2, col. 1.

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 4.

Upper Canada. An imposing mass of testimony exists to prove that the refugee Negro experienced considerable social and economic discrimination throughout his sojourn in this part of Canada. As early as 1832, Benjamin Lundy, an early Quaker abolitionist, was struck by the prejudice shown to Negro settlers, especially by American emigrants. In his diary recording his Canadian journey, he wrote, "By the way, it might not be amiss to observe that the white emigrants from the United States retain all their prejudices here that they formerly held against the colored people in their native country."[3]

Dr. Rolph sums up the situation as he saw it, "they [the Negroes] are looked upon with disfavour; they are excluded from the public schools; they are appointed to no public situations; they have great difficulty in obtaining land; they seldom advance from their less ability to cope with the climate than Europeans; they consume their summer's earnings with their winter's necessities . . . ."[4]

Although the picture for the Negro in Upper Canada was not as gloomy as Dr. Rolph chose to paint it, yet a number of facts can be brought forward to justify his use of sombre colors.

Emigration to Jamaica

The Chatham Journal of June 1, 1844 carried a message from the editor directing the attention of its colored readers to a plan for resettlement in Jamaica. The editor claimed to have in his possession a pamphlet, written in large part by Peter Gallego, which outlined the origins and aims of this emigration scheme. From the sketchy account contained in this editorial, it would appear that there had been a convention at Ancaster to consider the various problems of the refugee Negro, and that Peter Gallego had been appointed delegate to visit the island of Jamaica to test its possibilities as a new home for the refugee slaves. After two or three voyages to Jamaica, Gallego decided that this West Indian Island was the proper place for his racial brothers. The editor mentions that as a result of this campaign numbers of Negroes had emigrated from Upper Canada, and that their lot was greatly bettered.[5] Advertisements supporting the Jamaican emigration plan ran in the *Chatham Journal* from June 1 through to July, 1844. The results of this attempt to transplant the ex-slaves to sunnier climes are yet a mystery.

Mysterious too is the personality of Peter Gallego, although patches of grey light appear here and there. Dr. John Strachan, Anglican Bishop of Toronto, spoke of Gallego in a letter to the Society for Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts, written on April 28, 1840. The Bishop in his letter labored the fact that Toronto had a growing colored population which offered a fertile field for the Church's mission of saving souls. His spearhead for the colored mission is to be Peter Gallego. The Bishop at once admires the young Negro and is slightly dubious about his orthodoxy. "He [Gallego] is already a tolerable, classical scholar and has read a good deal of theology under my direction and that of my chaplain—but I am not quite satisfied of the sincerity of his religious feelings."[6]

---

[3] Fred Landon, "The Diary of Benjamin Lundy, Written During His Journey Through Upper Canada, January, 1832", *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records*, Vol. XIX, 1922, 116.

[4] Thomas Rolph, *Emigration and Colonization: Embodying the Results of a Mission to Great Britain and Ireland, During the Years, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842*, (London, John Mortimer, 1844), 310.

[5] *The Chatham Journal*, 1 June, 1844, Vol. III, No. 44, p. 3, col. 1.

In 1840, according to Strachan, Gallego was 29 years old. His exemplary character combined with his intellectual abilities made him much esteemed by the Negro Community in Toronto. And at the time of Strachan's letter, Gallego was engaged in taking a census of the Toronto Negro Community, which, when finished, Strachan intended to forward to the Society in England.

Gallego crops up again in a document of 1864. Lincoln's famous civil servant, Dr. S. G. Howe, sent to Canada to investigate the Negro under conditions of freedom, in his report quotes an opinion about Gallego. The President of the University of Toronto, Dr. John McCaul, told Howe about this likely young Negro. "There was a boy here from Upper Canada by name of Galigo, who, I think I am safe in saying was a thorough black. He did exceedingly well, and manifested a capacity equal to any white boy of his standing . . ."[7]

Strachan's bright, likeable and dedicated Negro theological student apparently became more concerned with the problems of his uprooted people and their possible solution in Jamaica than the career of surplice and stole.

Emigration to Trinidad

Dr. John Rolph's efforts to re-settle the refugee Negro in Trinidad are better documented because Rolph wrote a fair amount about his emigration and immigration ideals and plans. Further, some facts of his life can be definitely established. A Briton and a physician and surgeon, Dr. Rolph came to Canada from England in 1833. He was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and continued his medical practice after he settled in Ancaster, Upper Canada. The very name Ancaster, used in connection with Gallego and his Jamaican plans, would suggest that perhaps the two men knew each other, and might even have collaborated.

Having become a Roman Catholic before he came to Canada, he cultivated to a high degree the friendship of the Right Reverend Alexander Macdonnell, first Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada. Rolph had an amazing collection of noble and ecclesiastical friends which added social glitter to a very gregarious nature. From the time he arrived in Canada until the day he left as an embittered idealist in 1843, he had one passionate aim—to open the Canadas to the poor and unemployed of Great Britain. As part of this ideal, however strange it might seem at first sight, he dedicated himself to the re-settlement of the refugee Negro in Upper Canada to Trinidad.

---

[6] Ontario Archives, *Letters of Bishop Strachan to Society for Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1843-44,* 13.

[7] S. G. Howe, *The Refugees From Slavery in Canada West: Report to The Freedmen's Inquiry Commission,* (Boston, Wright and Potter, Printers, 1864), 79-80.

His argument was that Canada by virtue of its northern terrain and climate was entirely suitable for European settlers. Trinidad, on the other hand, because of its sub-tropical climate and its large colored population was far more appropriate for Negro settlement. Attractive in its simplicity, Rolph's thinking failed to admit that many North American Negroes were neither used to nor wanted a sub-tropical climate. Again, culturally, many of the refugees, especially those from the more northerly states had absorbed an Anglo-Saxon type of culture which would not suit them too well for life in the West Indies.

Undaunted by arguments of this sort, Rolph occupied certain official positions in which he strove for his goals. In 1839, he was appointed a Canadian immigration agent for the North American Colonial Committee in the United Kingdom.[8] Six years before, some convention of refugee Negroes in Upper Canada had elected Rolph their own emigration agent, or, perhaps, a kind of "agent-at-large". And in the Summer of 1843, he became agent for the Trinidad Government for the recruiting of Negro emigrants from Canada to Trinidad.[9]

His plan was doomed to failure, not only because it never received enthusiastic support from the Negroes concerned, but it received no support from either the Canadian or British Governments. In a letter to Lord John Russell, on 23rd April, 1841, Lord Sydenham poured cold water all over the Trinidad scheme. He pointed out that he had already caused the condition of the refugee Negro to be investigated, and found that in spite of some discrimination, the refugee Negro was doing fairly well. Sydenham denied that Rolph had had any correspondence on the matter with Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. In fact, Lord Sydenham laid the whole responsibility for the idea on Rolph's shoulders and those of his colored collaborators. Damning the whole idea, Sydenham remarks:

> "I see no reason, however, to think that there exists at present any desire on the part of that race [the Negro] to quit the Province, and I am certainly not disposed to take any measures for inducing them to do so. With some exceptions, they are, as far as I can learn, a well-conducted and orderly set of people. Their condition and prospects in Canada are at least as good as any which Trinidad would afford, and their loyalty to the Queen and the gratitude (for the protection) shown to their race under British Law, renders them valuable subjects to these colonies."[10]

Dr. Thomas Rolph misguidedly, but in all sincerity, had expended much strength and treasure in an emigration scheme to relieve the refugee

---

[8] *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* (Toronto, MacMillan, 1926), 347.

[9] Thomas Rolph, *op. cit.,* p. 314.

[10] Public Archives of Canada, P. S. O.-C. W., No. 51, 257.

Negro in Upper Canada which did not have much support from the Negroes, themselves, and which had no support at all from the Canadian Government. Even the Trinidad Government, needing labour as it did after the emancipation of the British slaves, was not willing to give much actual assistance to Dr. Rolph. Although Rolph's plans for the Negro failed, he did have some success in bringing British immigrants to the northern British colonies of North America.

A deeply disappointed man, his ideas and his many trans-Atlantic trips mostly in vain, Dr. Thomas Rolph left Canada for England in November, 1843, never to return.

Although the refugee Negroes gradually drifted back to the United States after the American Civil War, the Negro has remained a continuing factor in Canada's population ever since.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. Michael S. Cross is a graduate student in History at the University of Toronto. His article on the lumbering industry in Ontario was originally prepared as a course assignment and has been revised for *Ontario History.*

Mr. John I. Rempel is a Toronto architect who has over a number of years and solely for his own interest collected a mass of detailed information on early buildings in Ontario and elsewhere. The second part of his article on early forms of building construction in Ontario will appear in the next issue of our quarterly.

Dr. John K. A. Farrell is Assistant Professor of History in the College of Christ the King, London, Ontario. His doctoral thesis, completed in 1955 for the University of Ottawa, was entitled, *The History of the Negro Community in Chatham, Ontario, 1787-1865.* Readers will be interested to learn that an historical placque commemorating Dr. John Rolph was unveiled by the Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board on Talbot Road West near St. Thomas on October 2nd.

Dr. George W. Spragge, Archivist of Ontario, is a former editor of, and frequent contributor to, *Ontario History*, and is so well known to all Ontario historians that he needs no further introduction.

The Book Notes have been compiled by Miss Edith Firth, and the Editor wishes to express his indebtedness to her for undertaking this time-consuming chore. Individuals or groups wishing to ensure notice of publications in our Book Notes should send copies to Miss Firth, c/o Toronto Reference Library, College St. at St. George St., Toronto 5.

NEWS NOTES

The April issue of *Douglas Library Notes* from Queen's University announces the appointment of Mr. E. Charles Beer as the first full-time archivist of the extensive and valuable manuscript collection in the Douglas Library. As well as early records of Queen's University and the Presbyterian Synod of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, this archives possesses the papers of the pioneer clergyman William Bell, of William Morris and of several individuals prominent in the early development of Eastern Ontario. From the post-Confederation and modern periods the Douglas Library has such important political collections as the papers of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, the Hon. C. A. Dunning, the Hon. W. G. Mitchell, and Adam Shortt, historian and public servant.

Of special interest to students of Canadian literature are the Edith and Lorne Pierce Collection containing the papers of such authors as Mair, Carman, Pickthall, Roberts and Campbell, and the John Buchan Library of books, manuscripts and correspondence of Lord Tweedsmuir presented to the University in 1954.

At its meeting at Kingston in June, the Canadian Historical Association announced awards to a dozen individuals and institutions in recognition of outstanding achievements in furthering the study of local history in Canada. This is the first year that the awards have been presented. They are to be made annually in future. Ontario received no less than four of the coveted twelve certificates, our own Society, the Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty, the Toronto Public Libraries, and Mr. E. C. Guillet being the proud winners.

The Ontario Historical Society was honoured for its efforts on behalf of its affiliated local societies and museums and for our quarterly journal, *Ontario History.* Much of the credit for our award-winning journal must go to our editorial predecessor, Dr. Morris Zaslow, whose painstaking labours in this connection are gratefully acknowledged by every member of the Society. The Jordan Historical Museum was deservedly cited for its excellent collections, displays, and record of high achievement in its particular field. The award to the Toronto Public Libraries came for its signal contribution to historical scholarship in publishing *The Arthur Papers*, the concluding volume of which appeared in 1959. Mr. Edwin C. Guillet received the Association's recognition for his many valuable writings in the field of local history, and for his work in locating and collecting pictorial records as a research historian for the Ontario Archives.

THE STEAMSHIP *TRAVELLER* AND THE REBELLION OF 1837

With an Introduction by George W. Spragge

In the accounts of the 1837-8 Upper Canadian Rebellion we are told a good deal about the assembling of the rebel forces at Montgomery's Tavern and about the arrival of the loyal militia, both on foot and by steamer, to defend the capital of the Colony. But mention is seldom made of the difficulties and dangers encountered by those who sailed the lake at this time, transporting troops and provisions and carrying despatches for the lieutenant-governor and the military authorities. The rebellion began in December and, when one comes to think of it, one would not expect steamships to be in service in that month. So we find that one ship which played its part as a supply ship and troop carrier had, previous to December, been laid up for the winter season—indeed, partially dismantled. When means of transportation were suddenly and urgently needed the captain of this particular ship had to place her in commission hurriedly and set forth in bitter winter weather to carry out the orders with which he was overwhelmed.

The letters which supply this information, and which are reproduced here, are in the possession of Mrs. F. C. Harrison of Toronto, and were loaned by her to the Ontario Archives to be copied. The writer of some of the letters and the recipient of others was Captain James Sutherland,[1] Mrs. Harrison's paternal grandfather, commanding the S.S. *Traveller*.[2]

---

[1] James Sutherland was born in Hoy, Orkney Islands, and at an early age went to sea in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. After sailing in the Baltic and South American trades he came to Upper Canada, and in the course of his career served as captain of several steamboats on Lake Ontario. Sutherland was captain of the steamer *Magnet* in the late forties and early fifties (F. B. Cumberland, *A Century of Sail and Steam on the Niagara River* (Toronto, 1913), 37, and Ontario Archives, Smith and Chisholm Papers, James Sutherland to Messrs. Smith and Chisholm, September 6, 1853), and he is listed in 1856 as commander of the *Cora Linn* (John Disturnell, *A Trip through the Lakes of North America* (New York, 1857), 251. He was killed in the Desjardins Canal catastrophe on March 12, 1857 (*The Municipality of Toronto, A History* (Toronto and New York, 1923), III, 71). A biographical sketch of Sutherland may be found in this last-named reference.

[2] The Steamship *Traveller*, built at Niagara in 1835 by the Niagara Dock Company, established in that year, was the first of several steamers constructed under the superintendence of Robert Gilkison, a Canadian trained in shipbuilding at Port Glasgow, Scotland (Cumberland, *op. cit.*, 30. See also Disturnell, *loc. cit.*) She was evidently a side-wheeler. Her length is given variously as 145 feet (Cumberland, *loc. cit.*) and 170 feet (*Inland Seas*, XI, 1955, 147), her weight was 350 tons (Disturnell, *loc. cit.*), and her speed was 11 to 12 miles per hour (Cumberland, *loc. cit.*). In May, 1836, her route was Lewiston, Queenston, Niagara, Toronto, Oakville, Hamilton (*Patriot*, Toronto June 3, 1836); after July and during 1837 she ran from Rochester to Hamilton by way of Presq'Isle, Cobourg, Port Hope, and Toronto (*Patriot*, August 2, 1836, April 12, 1837). On July 30, 1840, she had the distinction, with the Lieutenant Governor on board, of leading the eight steamers carrying passengers from Niagara to Queenston to the public meeting to arrange for the building of the second Brock's monument (Cumberland, *op. cit.*, 32-3). In 1845 she was described as "old" (*Inland Seas*, loc. cit.). It may be added that her connexion with the rebellion did not end in January 1838: while in the harbour of Charlotte, the port of Rochester, April 25, 1839, she was "subjected to a most insulting ransack" by the sheriff together with William Lyon Mackenzie and a party of armed followers

Ontario History, Vol. LII (1960), No. 4.

The two letters written by Sutherland were addressed to the Honourable John Hamilton[3] of Queenston, a legislative councillor, son of the Honourable Robert Hamilton, who evidently had at least a large interest in the ownership of this steamship.

The Rebellion began on Monday, December the 4th, and on Thursday the 7th the rebels at Montgomery's Tavern were dispersed and Mackenzie fled. Then the scene shifted to the Niagara frontier and Navy Island. It was on the morning of the 4th that at very short notice Sutherland got his crew together, hurriedly—indeed too hurriedly, as it turned out—reinstalled and connected the engines, and at 4 a.m. the next morning set forth to collect volunteers. The last letter reproduced here was written on January the 15th, a little over a fortnight after the seizure and destruction of the S.S. *Caroline.* Owing to the hurried preparations, the severity of the weather, lack of money, and the conduct of the troops, the tasks assigned proved very difficult. Yet they were carried out, and to the satisfaction of the Captain, who was, as he says, happy to have been able to be of small service to his beloved country.

One rather interesting point is the mention of the use of passports at this time.

For supplying most of the information given in the footnotes I am indebted to Dr. Margaret Banks, a member of the Ontario Archives staff.

Toronto Decr 1837

Sir

Hearing by report that you had returned from the West Indies, I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you that according to your instructions the Traveller was moored at Brownes Wharf[4] the Engines taken down and everything put carefully past [fast] for the winter, and I am happy to inform you the season (as I then thought) was ended without any damage having been done to the Boat, and that she could be fitted out in the spring at a trifling expense

But Sir my winter proved to be a very short one, on the morning of the 4th Decr I heard the startling news that McKenzie and a party of Rebels were advancing, and within three Miles of Toronto. I was summoned before Sir F. B. Head at the City Hall,[5] and received his orders to have the Traveller immediately refitted & that every exertion was to be used in getting the Boat ready—and myself and Crew were to abide the Orders of the Govt. at 10 a.m. commenced refitting and at 4 a.m. next morning. 5th Started for Niagara, returned to Toronto same after-

---

who believed that two "patriot" (rebel) prisoners bound for Van Dieman's Land were on board. The incident is reported to have caused a temporary interruption to communications with Rochester, and the *Traveller* was sold to the Upper Canadian government (Edwin C. Guillet, *Lives and Times of the Patriots* (Toronto, 1938), 188).

[3] John Hamilton was for many years the dominant figure in steam navigation on Lake Ontario and the Upper St. Lawrence (*Encyclopaedia Canadiana* (Ottawa, 1957-8), V. 69).

[4] Browne's Wharf was at the foot of Church Street, Toronto (*Home District Directory*, 1837, Toronto section, p. 6).

[5] The City Hall was then on the south-west corner of Jarvis and Front streets.

noon, with 100 volunteers, to assist in protecting the City—same night at 11 was started off to Kingston. returned to Toronto on Saturday. On Sunday was sent with Col McNab[6] & Volunteers to Hamilton, where I landed them, and in getting to Brownes Wharf (same night) it was blowing a Gale and snowing. carried away some of the Fenders and part of the Starbd wheel which I got repaired next day. the next two trips were to Kingston. on the last my orders were to land D. Bethune Esqr[7] at Oswego. at 1 in the Morning I got to the Wharf at Cobourg. where I took on board some wood, the night was clear and very cold, the steam Joints were not perfectly tight, having fitted out in such a hurry—and the steam that escaped getting confined by the cold air, created such a thick fogg about our decks, that was impossible to see how to work the Engines properly and the consequence was that in starting from the wharf the Engine was started the wrong way and before I could get it stopped the Boat was backed against the wharf and twisted the webb—and sprung the main post of the Rudder, and doing some other damage to the Boats Stern. I hope the Rudder will hold together untill [*sic*] permission is given to lay the boat up when she must get a new [rudder]. I assure you Sir this did not happen from any neglect of myself or Engineer, but from the above causes. Since it happened the boat steers very badly and when I am leaving Kingston (being then very heavy loaded) she is almost unmanageable.

I hope this business will soon be ended. it is very severe on both boat and Crew. I have an Extra number of Men and was obliged to give them extra wages [.] I cannot inform you what our daily expenses are but they are very great, as I am obliged to victual all the officers and guards that travels [*sic*] by the Boat [.] I have purchased some plank to sheath the Bows to preserve the Boat when going through Ice—and have also been obliged to Board up the forward part of the Boat. to shelter the Troops. during the night [.] Our Cabins are sometimes used as a Barracks. Sometimes as an Ordnance Store & Sometimes as a magazine

I will now Sir, let you Know of my greatest trouble, which is that I have expended all the Money I was Master of. I mean to try and get $1,000 from the Commissariat, if they will not give it, will you allow me to draw on you for that Amount. nothing but Ready Money will answer in these times

I will write to you again soon and let you Know our proceedings.
trusting this may find you in good health as it leaves at present
I remain Sir

Your Most Obt. Servt
James Sutherland
Commander S B Traveller

To the Honble
John Hamilton
Queenston

---

[6] Later Sir Allan MacNab. He had arrived in Toronto late on Tuesday night, the 5th "with upwards of sixty 'Men of Gore' in his train". There being no necessity for retaining him in Toronto "as the Rebellion bubble had utterly collapsed" he and his forces were sent to Brantford to defeat or overawe the rebels in that vicinity.

[7] Donald Bethune was the youngest child of the Rev. John Bethune, for many years rector of Kingston. Professor Young refers to him as a "steamboat owner" (A. H. Young, "The Bethunes" (Ontario Historical Society, *Papers & Records*, XXVII, 560)).

Prescott. ½ past 1 OClock A.M.
6 January 1837 [1838]

Sir

Enclosed is a letter for you from Captn Phillpotts,[8] from which it appears the 24th Regiment may be expected very early this morning, being I understand at the present moment moving up from Williamsburgh. You had therefore immediately on receipt of this start for this place, where there is no danger to be apprehended as will be explained to you fully by Mr Dinant, to whom I refer you for further particulars

I am
Sir
Your most obed Servt[9]

Captn Sutherland
SteamBoat Traveller
Brockville

His Excellency the Lieut Governor desires that the Traveller SteamBoat will proceed with the Troops and Artillery to Niagara, according to the Orders which may be issued by Col. Foster.

By Command
J. Joseph[10]

Government House
Saturday Night
7. Jany 1838

Captn Sutherland will be pleased to proceed with the Detachmt of Royal Artillery and the 24th Regt from Toronto, to Queenston, as soon as possible after Lt Colonel Hughes may find it convenient to proceed. All such Ordnance, and Ordnance Stores, Ammunition, &c, as may be required on the Niagara Frontier, will be landed at Queenston, and the Officer Comg the Militia at that Place called upon it to forward them to Chippewa with all possible haste.

L Foster
Colonel Comg in Upper Canada.

Toronto. Jany 8th 1838.

N.B. The Traveller is to return to Toronto without delay.

L Foster

---

[8] Probably Captain George Phillpotts of the Royal Engineers. See *Canada and its Provinces* (Toronto, 1913), X, 505.

[9] A signature appears at the end of this letter, but unfortunately it is indecipherable.

[10] The Lieutenant-Governor's secretary.

Government House
Tuesday 10 o'Clock
9. Jany. 1838

Sir

I have it in command to convey to you His Excellency's Orders that you allow no Individual *from Toronto*, to pass over to Niagara in your Steam Boat, without a Passport from Government House.

These Instructions you will understand to remain in force during the period in which you are in the service of the Government.

I have the Honour to be
Sir
Your most obedt
Humble Servt
J Joseph

Captain Sutherland
of the Traveller

Toronto Jany 15th 1838

Sir

In my last letter to you I mentioned that I was very much in want of money. I have now to inform you I have received from the Commissariat in Toronto the Sum of Two hundred & Fifty Pounds, cy. which will enable me to pay of[f] part of the debts contracted by the Boat for wood Provisions &c.

I have just returned from of[f] my 8th Trip, two of which were to Prescott[.] On my Arrival at Kingston—(Trip before this last) Col. Cubitt and Mr Commissary Clarke (by whose instructions I was ordered to act) Said it would not be prudent to pass through the American Canal [*sic*] to Prescott, and that I would have to go by the Ganuanoque channel (with which I am totally unaquainted) [.] I got Mr Shaw of the Sir Jas Kempt[11] (of whom they approved) to act as Pilot—their object for ordering me through this channel was (I believe) in consequence of the threats of the Americans, they having lately heard of the Destruction of the S.B. Caroline.

On Sunday Morning 7th inst I was ready to start, but it was blowing a Strong Gale from the Soward and I did not think it prudent (although urged) to start—at 2 P.M. the wind veered to the westward, and got a little more moderate. at 4 P.M. got the Pilot onboard and Started. at 6 P.M. entered the Narrows, and in rounding an Island at what is called the Fidlers Elbow a sudden heavy squall struck the Boat and turned her nearly round. the Engines were stopped immediately and reversed, but the wind and Current being so very strong, all our power could not prevent the Boat running against the Island. She struck forward—carrying away the Bowsprit Chain, part of the head and trail Boards, what damage she may have recd under Water [*sic*], but find the Oakum started in the seams, and the Boat is in consequence rather leaky—I would have had her hauled up—on my return to Kingston, but the Sir Jas Kempt & Brockville[12] are both on the [marine] Railway—and I was obliged to proceed to Toronto in the Same Way—I have Since made a voyage to & from

---

[11] A steamboat built at Kingston in 1829. See Disturnell, *op. cit.*, 250.

[12] A steamboat built at Brockville in 1833. *Ibid.*, 251.

Kingston and find that she still makes water, and whenever the Boat is laid up, it will be necessary to keep two men onboard to keep her pumped out

I have just landed 4 Cos of the 32nd and one of the 24th Regts—and have got Orders to proceed this Evening with dispatches to Kingston, and to wait there for the arrival of the Hd Quarters of the 32nd Regt. and bring them and as as much Ordnance &c. as the Boat will carry to Toronto.

Our Cabins are in a very dirty State, some of the Furniture broke, the Tables are so much scratched that it will be necessary to have them dressed anew[.] there is no end to the breakage of Glass—and it is impossible to prevent it, as the men are running about with their Muskits—bayonets &c. Our Cabins, (instead of one) will require two Coats of Paint in the Spring two years of such service would finish the Boat altogether—I omitted mentioning in my last, that I had been to the expence of 16 £ for a Square Sail-Yard &c. I admit Sir this was not required in Our Ordinary business—but having recd particular Orders from his Excellency not to spare any expense that was found necessary to carry the Boat through with expedition and safety—I assure you Sir—that I would not have gone to this expense had it been for receiving the above Orders, and at this Season of the year, when the Sea runs heavy & few or no Ports to run to for shelter I thought it necessary to have One. the other Sails have had hard usage. I have not spared either Boat or Sails.—and all safe means to perform my trips as expeditiously as possible—and I feel truly happy to think that it has fallen to my lot to be of a small service to my Beloved Country

I do not expect to be back from Kingston before the end of this, or commencement of next week but will write to you immediately on my arrived at Toronto

I remain Sir
Your Most Obdt Servt
James Sutherland
Commander S B Traveller

The Honble
John Hamilton
Queenston

THE MUSEUMS SECTION
OF
THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Report for the Period September 30, 1958, to December 31, 1959

Cash on Hand, September 30, 1958		
Petty Cash	$ 25.00	
Workshop Advance	50.00	
Bank	497.37	
		$ 572.37
Receipts:		
Newsletters	$165.40	
Bank Interest	5.16	
The Ontario Hist. Soc. (1958)	100.00	
The Ontario Hist. Soc. (1959)	500.00	
Sale of Booklets	5.00	775.56
		$1,347.93
Expenses:		
Workshop, Brantford, 1958	$172.89	
Printed Report	71.50	
Workshop, Cornwall, 1959	100.00	
(Report later)	—	
Petty Cash Items	78.16	
Stationery	7.00	
Printing of Publications	188.11	
Travelling Expenses	98.95	
Miscellaneous, Exchange, etc.	9.75	
Printing of Newsletters	121.25	
		$ 847.61
Cash on Hand, December 31, 1959		
Petty Cash	$ 25.00	
Bank Balance	475.32	500.32
		$1,347.93

NOTE:

In past years we have made our reports on the basis of our fiscal year, which ran from Workshop to Workshop, but, in order to conform to the Constitution of The Ontario Historical Society, we have given here a report up to the end of 1959. Future reports will be on the calendar-year basis.

LESLIE R. GRAY, Treasurer.

BOOK NOTES

Summer and Autumn, 1960

Barbeau, Marius. *Huron-Wyandot traditional narratives in translations and native texts.* (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Museum of Canada, *Bulletin No. 165.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1960. Pp. 322, illustrated, $3.00). Huron-Wyandot was the Iroquois dialect spoken in Huronia after 1608, and lingered in the Detroit River area and in Oklahoma until 40 years ago.

Barcus, Frank. *Freshwater fury, yarns and reminiscences of the greatest storm in inland navigation.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 166, illustrated, $3.95). Account of the Great Storm of November, 1913, in which 251 sailors lost their lives on the Great Lakes.

Barnard, William T. *The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, 1860-1960, one hundred years of Canada.* (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Company. 1960. Pp. xiii, 398, illustrations and maps. $5.00). A history of Canada's oldest rifle regiment, from Ridgeway to Korea.

Barrowclough, Edna I. *The story of the Wesleyville United Church and its people.* (Port Hope: Mrs. E. J. Barrowclough, R.R. No. 3. 1960. Pp. 45, $1.00). History of the Methodist church six miles west of Port Hope, from the days of the saddlebag preachers, through the building of the first church before 1845, to 1960.

Beattie, Jessie L. *The split in the sky.* (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 214. $4.95). Life on the Grand River Reservation of the Six Nations Indians near Brantford, Ontario.

Bishop, Olga. "Checklist of historical works on Western Ontario in the libraries of the University of Western Ontario: Kent County" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XVI (2) September, 1960, 85-93).

Bolton, R. J. *History of Central Public School, Peterborough 1860-1920.* (Peterborough: Central Public School. 1960. Pp. 25, illustrated. 50c). History of the Central Public School, and also early public education in Peterborough.

Boon, T. C. B. "The use of catechisms and syllabics by the early missionaries of Rupert's Land" (*United Church of Canada. Committee on archives. Bulletin,* No. 13. 1960). History of the translations of catechisms and gospels into Indian syllabics for use in the James Bay area from the 1840's to 1879.

Bourinot, Arthur S. *More letters of Duncan Campbell Scott* (*2nd Series*). (Ottawa: The author, 158 Carleton Road, Rockliffe Park. 1960. Pp. 104, illustrated. $2.50). Letters from Scott, the majority to Prof. Pelham Edgar, about publishing and literary matters.

Brown, L. Carson. *Ontario's mineral heritage.* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. 27). Fourth edition, revised to May, 1960, of an article containing a history of Ontario mines, originally published in the *Canadian Geographical Journal.*

Brown, R. F. *A guide to historical Brantford and Brant County.* (Brantford: The author, 180 Park Ave. 1960. Pp. 36, illustrated. 75c). Fine photographs of historic sites, combined with brief histories of local institutions, and a detailed chronology of the area.

Campbell, Isabelle. *A Hibbert Review* (*Part Two*) *including the lots contained in Concessions I to VII, inclusive.* (Seaforth: the Huron Expositor. 1959. Pp. 144. $2.75). Continues the history of Hibbert Township, Perth County, begun in *A Hibbert Review* published in 1953.

Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. *Notes on the Canadian family tree.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. 137. $1.00). Discusses the history and contribution of 23 ethnic groups in Canada.

Costain, Thomas B. *The chord of steel, the story of the invention of the telephone.* (New York: Doubleday & Co. 1960. Pp. 238. $4.00). Begins with the arrival of the Bell family in Brantford, and ends with Alexander Graham Bell's discovery of the principle of the telephone.

Eisen, David. *Toronto's Jewish doctors.* (Toronto: Canadian Jewish Congree. 1960. Pp. 16, illustrated). Historical account of Toronto Jewish doctors from the first one in 1900 to 1956.

Galvin, Martin A. "The Jubilee riots in Toronto, 1875" (*Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report*, 1959. 93-107). Processions of Catholic pilgrims, visiting four Toronto churches in connection with the special indulgences of Jubilee year were attacked by Protestant rioters on September 26 and October 3, 1875.

Gilkison, William. "The diary of Captain William Gilkison 28 May 1832-31 March 1833" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XVI (2) September, 1960, 40-71). Capt. Gilkison arrived in Upper Canada at Queenston in 1832. His diary records travelling in western Ontario, and business matters concerning property in Elora, Brantford and Nichol Township.

Green, E. A. "At Fitzroy Provincial Park the wheel turns" (*Sylva*, XVI (3) May-June, 1960, 4-8). History of Fitzroy Harbour, Ont.

Grobicki, Aleksander. "Paderewski's concerts in Toronto (1892-1905)" (*Polish past in Canada*, studies 3, 1960. 71-88). Account of the five concerts given by Paderewski and of the general reaction to them.

Guinard, Joseph E. *Les noms indiens de mon pays, leur signification, leur histoire.* (Montreal: Rayonnement. 1960. Pp. 198. $1.60). Includes origins of Indian place-names in Ontario.

Hamil, Fred C. "Michigan in the War of 1812" (*Michigan History*, XLIV (3) September, 1960, 257-291). Fourth in a special series designed especially for school children. Also available in pamphlet form ($1.00) from Michigan Historical Commission, Lewis Cass Building, Lansing 13,Michigan.

Hardy, W. G. *From sea unto sea, the road to nationhood, 1850-1910.* (New York: Doubleday & Company. 1950. Pp. 528. $4.95). Fourth volume of the Canadian Histories Series, edited by Thomas B. Costain, covering the background of Confederation, railway building, the Riel rebellions etc.

Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society. *Wentworth bygones, from the papers and records of the Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society.* Vol. No. 2, (Hamilton: Miss Mary H. Farmer, Secretary, Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society, 83 Charlton Ave. West. 1960. Pp. 48, illustrated, $1.00). Contains the following articles: "Administrative beginnings in the town of Hamilton, 1833-1838" by R. S. Charlton (Pp. 2-15); "Seventy years with Hamilton's Street Railway" by Marjorie Freeman Campbell (p. 16-22); "A history of the Hamilton Street Railway Company" by H. Isabel Springer (Pp. 22-23); "The origin of some street names of Hamilton" by Edward Goodale (Pp. 24-30); "The story of Jean Baptiste

Rousseau" by T. Roy Woodhouse (Pp. 36-43); "Crown patentees of Ancaster Township" by Mabel Burkholder and T. Roy Woodhouse (Pp. 44-48).

Howard, C. S. "Another man from Glengarry" (*Canadian Banker*, LXVII, (2), Summer, 1960, 35-58). Study of the Canadian background of Sir Edward Peacock, prominent financier. Sir Edward was born in 1871 at St. Elmo, Ontario, attended Almonte high school and Queen's University, and taught at Upper Canada College.

Jenness, Diamond. *The corn goddess and other tales from Indian Canada.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. 111, illustrated. $2.00). Includes Iroquois and Ojibwa tales. Second edition of work originally published in 1956.

Jenness, Diamond. *The Indians of Canada.* 5th ed. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. xii, 452, illustrations and maps. $6.00).

Kennedy, T. L. *Tom Kennedy's story*, by Colonel T. L. Kennedy as told to Ralph Hyman. (Toronto: Privately printed by the *Globe and Mail.* 1960. Pp. 62, illustrated). Informal recollections of former Minister of Agriculture in Ontario, and, for 18 months, Premier.

Kinsky, Richard C. "Reaction of the Toronto Globe to the Vatican Council—Dec. 1869-July 1870" (*Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report,* 1959, 81-92). Discusses coverage of the Vatican Council in the *Globe*, and George Brown's hostility to its declaration of papal infallibility.

Kitchener Public Library Staff. "History of Kitchener, Waterloo and district" (Ontario Library Review, XIV (3) August, 1960, 201-202). Bibliography of books and pamphlets about Kitchener and Waterloo.

Krueger, Ralph R. "Changing land-use patterns in the Niagara fruit belt" (in Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, XXXII, Part II (67) October, 1959, 39-140). Study of the effect of urban expansion on fruit growing and production in the 10 townships in the Niagara fruit belt during the last 30 years, with recommendations for future control.

Lajeunesse, E. J., C.S.B. *The Windsor border region, Canada's southern most frontier.* (Ontario Series, Volume IV. Toronto: The Champlain Society for the Province of Ontario. 1960. Pp. cxxix, 374, illus. and maps. $5.00. For members of the Ontario Historical Society when ordered through the Secretary-Treasurer, $3.50. See advertisement in this number). Begins with Father Lalement's description of the Detroit River area in 1640, and ends with the founding of the towns of Sandwich and Amherstburg towards the end of the eighteenth century. The story is told in the editor's introduction, and illustrated by the documents.

Landon, Fred. "Shipwreck on Isle Royale" (*Inland Seas*, XVI, (1) Spring, 1960, 60-62). Account of loss of Canadian steamer *Monarch* out of Port Arthur on December 6, 1906.

Langdon, John Emerson. *Canadian silversmiths and their marks, 1667-1867.* (Lunenberg, Vt.: Stinehour Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 190, illustrated. $20.00). Contains historical sketch of Ontario silversmithing, biographical notes on silversmiths, and illustrations of their marks, p. 121-136.

Lee, Thomas E. "Some archaeological investigations in Ontario" (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XXX (1), April, 1960, 22-24). Brief account of explorations in Elgin and Norfolk Counties, Manitoulin Island and Hawkesbury area in 1952.

McCarthy, Richard D. "The Fenian Raid" (*Niagara Frontier*, VII (1), Spring, 1960, 24-28). Factual account of the Fenian Raid, and the battles of Ridgeway and Fort Erie, from the Fenian point of view.

McIlwraith, T. F. "Archaeological work on the north shore of Lake Superior" (in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, LIII, Series III, Section II, June, 1959, 37-42). Account of explorations at Red Sucker Point, six miles from Marathon, from which evidence of a sparse population and a long continued pattern of culture were found.

Mackenzie, William Lyon. *The selected writings of William Lyon Mackenzie, 1824-1837.* Edited by Margaret Fairley. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1960). Selection of both newspaper and pamphlet writings, including not only political subjects but also articles which show Mackenzie's interest in every facet of the life of his times.

McLean, Beatrice R. *Greenwood through the years.* (Greenwood, Ont.: Mrs. Irven McLean, Greenwood Farm Forum. 1960. Pp. 88, illustrated. $2.00). History of Greenwood, Pickering Township, from 1801 to the present.

Malkus, Alida. *Blue-water boundary, epic highway of the Great Lakes and the Saint Lawrence.* (New York: Hastings House. 1960. Pp. ix, 308, illustrated. $7.95). Historical account of the St. Lawrence Seaway, and the adjacent countryside.

Manion, James P. *A Canadian errant, twenty-five years in the Canadian foreign service.* (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 196. $5.00). James P. Manion served as a Commercial Attaché in Japan, France, Italy and the United States. His memoirs include a description of his boyhood in Fort William, Ont.

Marryat, Frederick. *Diary in America*, edited with a foreword by Jules Zanger. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1960. Pp. 342. $6.95). New edition of the American classic, first published in 1839, including his description of Upper Canada. Pp. 136-139, 200-207.

Monture, Ethel Brant. *Canadian portraits, Brant, Crowfoot, Oronhyatekha.* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company. 1960. Pp. vii, 160, illustrated. $2.50). Biography of Joseph Brant, Pp. 1-70, and of Oronhyatekha, physician and founder of the Independent Order of Foresters, Pp. 130-158.

Morrison, Neil F. "The life and times of Captain James Donaldson Morrison" (*Inland Seas*, XVI (3) Fall, 1960, 180-189). Life of author's father and his career on Great Lakes, substantially as published in *Western Ontario Historical Notes*, IX (1) March, 1951.

Myers, Frank A. "Historic sites marked in Manitoulin Island region" (*Inland Seas*, XVI (3), Fall, 1960, 196-202).

Myers, Frank A. "How Little Current got its name" (*Inland Seas*, XVI (2) Summer, 1960, 119-122).

Phelps, Edward. "Oil museum of Canada" (*Western Ontario historical notes*, XVI (2) September, 1960, 75-84). Account of the opening of the Oil Museum of Canada on the site of the Williams well, Enniskillen Township, Lambton County, with some history of the oil industry in Lambton.

Pickersgill, J. W. *The Mackenzie King record.* Volume 1, 1939-1944. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. XIV, 723, illustrated. $11.50). Contains very extensive quotations from Mr. King's diaries for the critical war years, compiled by one of those closest to him.

Quimby, George Irving. *Indian life in the upper Great Lakes, 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 182. $5.95). Guide to the archaeology, ethnology, and geography of the upper Great Lakes, from the end of the Ice Age to the beginning of settlement.

Ridley, F. "Transatlantic contacts of primitive man, eastern Canada and northwestern Russia" (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XXX (2), August, 1960, 46-57). Similarity of pottery artifacts in the Historical Museum, Moscow, and those found in Canada, particularly in the St. Lawrence valley.

Ritchie, T. "Early brick masonry along the St. Lawrence in Ontario" (*Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal*, XXXVII (3) March, 1960, 115-122). Describes early brick-making and building methods in the Aultsville area.

Robertson, Norman. *The history of the county of Bruce and of the minor municipalities therein.* (Toronto: J. M. Dent. 1960. Pp. xviii, 560, illustrated. $5.00). Reprint of the standard work, first published in 1906.

Scarrow, Howard A. "Federal-Provincial voting patterns in Canada" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXVI (2), May, 1960, 289-298). Analysis of federal and provincial elections, from 1930, in which no positive pattern is found.

Sigsworth, John Wilkins. *The battle was the Lord's, a history of the Free Methodist Church in Canada.* (Oshawa: Sage Publishers. 1960. Pp. 301, illustrated. $3.95). Founded in New York in 1860 as a reform Methodist Church, the Free Methodist Church entered Canada in the 1870's, and has a membership of almost 11,000 in Canada, with its greatest strength in Ontario.

Spicer, Elizabeth. "London through the century" (*Ontario Library Review*, XLIV (1) February, 1960, 12-13). List of holdings of the London Public Library and Art Museum concerning the history of London, Ont.

Stanley, George F. G. *Canada's soldiers, the military history of an unmilitary people.* (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada. 1960. Pp. 449, illustrations and maps, $6.50). Revised edition of book first published in 1954, with corrections, and expansion of sections on the two world wars.

Stephens, Helen. "A collector's item" (*Canadian Banker*, LXVII (1), Spring, 1960, 109-122). A summary and discussion of Charlotte Whitton's *A hundred years a-fellin'*, concerning lumbering in the Ottawa valley.

Stevenson, Hugh. "The Coyne Papers, an addition to the University Library" (*Western Ontario historical notes*, XVI (2) September, 1960, 72-74). A description of the more than 2000 letters in the collection of Dr. James Coyne, presented to the Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, in 1959.

Swayze, Nansi. *Canadian portraits, Jenness, Barbeau, Wintemberg, the man hunters.* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company. 1960. Pp. xi, 180, illustrated. $2.50). Biographies of three outstanding Canadian anthropologists, all of whom have worked on Ontario Indian subjects.

Tanghe, Raymond. *Bibliography of Canadian bibliographies.* (Toronto: Published in association with the Bibliographical Society of Canada by University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. 206. $10.00). Lists bibliographies by type and subject.

Tiller, James L. "No time for patents" (*Sylva*, XVI (2) March-April, 1960. 4-8). Account of paper-making activities of John and James Thomson, especially in the Napanee district, based on article by C. M. Warner in Lennox and Addington Historical Society's *Papers and Records*, v. XI, 1910.

Underhill, F. H. *The radical tradition, a second view of Canadian history.* (Toronto: CBC Publications Branch, Box 500. Pp. 12. 25c). Texts of two half-hour programmes presented on CBC Television in the programme "Explorations" on June 8 and 15, 1960, in which Prof. Underhill was interviewed by Prof. Paul Fox. Prof. Underhill regrets the absence of a strong radical tradition in Canada.

Van Steen, Marcus. "Tobacco: another Canadian achievement" (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LXI (1) July, 1960, 10-17). History and description of the Ontario tobacco industry.

Warner, Donald F. *The idea of continental union, agitation for the annexation of Canada to the United States, 1840-1893.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 276. $5.00). Although the annexation movement was not as strong in Ontario as in other parts of Canada, it was still an important force here.

Watt, F. W. "Critic or entertainer? Stephen Leacock and the growth of materialism" (*Canadian Literature*, No. 5, Summer, 1960, 33-42). Discussion of Leacock as a social satirist, with the conclusion that Leacock was only sometimes a critic, but always an entertainer.

Watters, R. E. "A special tang: Stephen Leacock's Canadian humour" (*Canadian Literature*, No. 5, Summer, 1960, 21-32). Analysis of Leacock's humour, emphasizing its essentially Canadian nature.

Wells, Kenneth McNeill. *Cruising the North channel.* (Toronto: Kingswood House. 1960. Pp. xv, 232, illustrated. $5.00). A chatty, informal account of the North Channel, between Manitoulin Island and the mainland. Primarily a description of the present day, there is, however, a fair amount of historical information.

Wright, Don. "Paisley in the heart of Bruce" (*Ontario Hydro News*, XLVII (5), May, 1960, 22-24). Brief history of Paisley, Ont.

York Pioneer and Historical Society. *The York Pioneer* (Toronto: The Society, c/o 27 Surrey Place. 1960. Pp. 56, illustrated). Contains the following articles: "Henry Scadding, D.D., Toronto: his medal", by Hamilton Craig (Pp. 8-9); "The little boxes of 1837", by Janet Stewart Pp. 9-15); "Silhouette of Alexander Wood", by Lorna R. Procter (Pp. 25-28); "Elmer Starr of Yonge Street", by Jean McFall (Pp. 42-50); also the reports for the 1959 of the Society's operations and activities.

Young, Anna G. "Sounding: three long and two short" (*Inland Seas*, XVI (2) Summer, 1960, 111-114). Story of the Foote family of Fergus, and the Great Lakes captains who belonged to it.

NEW MEMBERS

The Ontario Historical Society welcomes the following members who have been enrolled since the publication of the previous list in *Ontario History*, Vol. LII No. 2, page 138.

Life Member

Mr. Hugh Douglass, Guelph.

Family Members

Misses Hattie I. and Lottie M. Jones, Fruitland

Individual Members

Mr. W. R. Abbott, Westmount, Que.
Mrs. Carlyle Angus, Erin
Mr. G. Keith Bain, Toronto
MSgt. Roy E. Baker, Nebraska
Mrs. L. A. Ball, St. Mary's
Mr. Cleo A. Barry, Fresno, Calif.
Mrs. A. F. Berrill, Port Credit
Mr. Ralph Berrin, Toronto
Mrs. John N. Blair, Burlington
Mrs. E. H. Bosley, London, Ont.
Mrs. G. Russell Boucher, Ottawa
Mr. Joseph A. Boudreau, Los Angeles
Mr. John F. Brown, West Hill, Ont.
Mr. W. Burgess, Toronto
Mr. Duncan F. Cameron, Toronto
Mr. Harry A. Clinch, Montreal
Mr. J. H. Crang, Toronto
Mrs. Anne G. Crockford, Bracebridge
Mr. M. S. Cushing, Niagara Falls, Ont.
Mrs. John Irwin, Toronto
Dr. W. S. Keith, Toronto
Mr. Fred H. Lamar, Ottawa
Mr. Richard M. Lamb, Kitchener
Mr. Franklin J. Lisso, Ayr
Mr. M. Wallace McCutcheon, Toronto
Mr. J. A. McDonald, Port Credit
Mr. A. MacFarland, Toronto
Mr. R. L. MacFeeters, Toronto
Mr. F. K. McKean, Parry Sound
Mrs. Gordon Montgomery, Toronto
Mrs. J. E. Morrison, Toronto
Mrs. H. E. Nurcombe, Willowdale
Mr. B. M. Osler, Toronto
Mr. Earl E. Palmer, London, Ont.
Mrs. M. J. Patton, Toronto
Mrs. Ralph W. Peck, Toronto
Mr. J. Purtle, Toronto
Mrs. J. L. Roblin, Bath
Miss E. Cutler, London, Ont.
Bruce P. Davis, Esq., Q.C., King
Mr. G. Ewart Donnell, Agincourt
Mrs. S. H. Easterbrook, Erinsville
Mr. Louis Ector, Welland
Miss Margaret Ferguson, Toronto
Mrs. H. Finn, Toronto
Mr. G. Alvan Gamble, Unionville
Lt.-Col. G. G. Griffeth, Seattle
Mr. Michael J. Hendrich, Port Credit
Mrs. W. A. Howard, Scarborough
Miss Janice Roe, Oshawa
Mr. N. C. Schneider, Kitchener
Mrs. E. O. Scott, Welland
Mr. Paul Sears, Toronto
Mr. Frederick Secord, Lake Bluff, Ill.
Mrs. Marlisle Sherwin, Willowdale
Mr. William H. Swayze, Welland
Mr. Allen G. Talbot, Brownsburg, Que.
Mr. C. W. Traviss, Toronto
Mr. Robert A. Willson, Islington
A. C. Wilson, Esq., M.D., Hartford, Conn.

Corporate Members

Glengarry Historical Society, Alexandria.
Pickering Township Historical Society, Brougham.
Niagara Falls Museum Ltd., Niagara Falls, Ont.
Upper Thames River Conservation Authority, London, Ont.
Public Library, East York.
Public Library, Harrow.
Public Library, Regina, Sask.
Lafayette College Library, Easton, Penn.
University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.

MUSEUM NEWS

To judge by the flood of reports on museum openings in Ontario, this year may go down in history as Museum Year. On May 21, Henry House Museum at Lakeview Park, Oshawa, was opened to the public. Old Fairfield Village Museum, on the site of Ontario's first Christian Indian town five miles west of Thamesville on Highway 2, was opened on June 12 under the auspices of the United Church of Canada. Three days later, on June 15, Dr. A. E. Broome, founder of the Ontario Pioneer Community Foundation, cut the ribbon at the museum and administration building of the Pioneer Village near Doon. During the next ten days more than 4,000 visitors inspected the displays of pioneer life.

Another Pioneer Village, a project of the Upper Thames Valley Conservation Authority near the Fanshawe Dam close to London, was opened on June 26. The Fanshawe Pioneer Village revives the atmosphere of a century ago with a log house and stable, a meeting house, a blacksmith's shop, garden and apple orchard, and stump and rail fences around the crops in a small field. The house is complete with period furniture, while the presence of chickens and pigs makes the farm a "living" museum.

A new Indian Village has been built on a four-acre site on Portage Road one mile above the Horseshoe Falls near Dufferin Islands. Over six thousand poles went into the making of the stockade which is 25 to 35 feet in height, 250 feet long and 125 feet deep. Within the walls may be seen how the various Indian tribes lived in the past as well as in the present. The primitive methods of tanning hides, steam bathing, food preserving, cooking, and even torturing, may be found within the Village. The firing ramp and a high lookout provide vantage points for the photographer. Real Indians, including a chief in full regalia, will "live" in the Village during display hours, demonstrating their skills in various crafts and tribal dances. A collection of Indian relics has been loaned by the Museum at Niagara-on-the-Lake, and in addition private collections will be displayed in the log cabin which was built over a century ago.

Western Ontario Historical Notes reports, "Dominion Day was a special occasion for Lambton County this year, marking the opening of the unique Oil Museum of Canada. Located one mile south of the village of Oil Springs, the ultra-modern museum marks the location of the first commercial oil well in North America, the claims of Titusville, Pennsylvania, notwithstanding.

Over one thousand persons attended the opening ceremonies at which the Hon. Bryan Cathcart, M.P.P., introduced the Hon. John Keiller Mackay, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, who officially declared the museum open.

The oil museum is closely connected with the Lambton County Historical Society. . . . The Oil Museum of Canada is open to the public daily except Monday from 2 p.m. to 9 p.m., May through October."

Lieutenant Governor J. Keiller Mackay also officiated at the opening of Toronto's new Marine Museum in old Stanley Barracks on the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition. The Museum has gathered many famous articles pertaining to the history of the Royal Canadian Navy which is celebrating its semi-centennial this year. Every conceivable aspect of seamanship from sail through steam was represented in the carefully planned exhibits.

Mr. Andrew Taylor reports that the Museum Workshop held at Hamilton, October 21-3, was extremely successful. Dundurn Castle Museum and Dundas Historical Society Museum acted as hosts to nearly 120 registered delegates. Officers of the Museum Section for 1960-1961 are: Past Chairman, Dr. J. F. Morton, Bruce County Museum, Southampton; Chairman, Miss Kaye McFarland, United Empire Loyalist Museum Adolphustown, Napanee; First Vice-Chairman, Lt. Col. J. A. McInnis, Director, Toronto Historical Board; Second Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Gwen Metcalfe, Dundurn Castle Museum, Hamilton; Treasurer, Mr. Leslie R. Gray, Ontario Historical Society, London; Newsletter, Mrs. Verna B. Taylor, Waterloo County Historical Society, Galt; Mailing Convener, Miss Alice Davidson, York Pioneer and Historical Society, Toronto; Publicity, Mr. Alan Douglas, Hiram Walker Historical Museum, Windsor; Recording Secretary, Major J. F. Leys, Mill of Kintail, Almonte; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. P. S. Dunbar, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology; Workshop Report, Mrs. P. S. Dunbar, Toronto, Miss Mildred Easto, Toronto. The Council for the coming year will be: Miss Dorothy Drever, First Chairman, Toronto; Miss Ruth M. Home, Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty, Jordan; Mr. Andrew Taylor, Ontario Historical Society, Galt; Miss Marion Keffer, York Pioneer and Historical Society, Toronto; Mr. J. D. Herbert, Chief, National Historic Sites Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa; *ex officio,* A. D. McFall, President, Ontario Historical Society, Toronto.

AUGUSTANA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
LIBRARY

AUGUSTANA UNIVERSITY
1 1910 00087 9277